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ORDO RACHELIS

BY

KARL YOUNG
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

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ORDO RACHELIS

The several types of liturgical play connected with the Nativity may be enumerated as follows: (1) a play of the shepherds *(Officium Pastorum)*, performed on Christmas Day;[1] (2) a play of the Magi *(Officium Stellæ)*, for Epiphany;[2] (3) a play of the prophets *(Processus Prophetarum)*, associated with Christmas Day, or with the octave of Christmas;[3] and a play representing the Slaughter of the Innocents *(Ordo Rachelis)*,[4] for performance on Epiphany or on Innocents Day (December 28). In the following pages I undertake a special study of the *Ordo Rachelis*.[5]

I

Both through its position in the Gospel narrative and through its liturgical history the story of the Slaughter of the Innocents is closely associated with the visit of the Magi

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[1] The most recent extensive study of this play, so far as I know, is an article by the present writer entitled *Officium Pastorum: A Study of the Dramatic Developments within the Liturgy of Christmas*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVII, Part I (1912), 299–396.

[2] The most thorough study of this play is that by H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905.

[3] See M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878. Upon this monograph is based the brief, but trustworthy, survey of E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 52–57.

[4] Because of the central position of Rachel in plays of this class, I adopt the designation *Ordo Rachelis* found at the head of the play in the manuscript from Freising (See below, p. 42). I do not mean to disparage the designation *Interfectio Puerorum*, attached to the text from Fleury (See below, p. 27).

[5] In addition to the brief general accounts of this play given by Chambers, II: 44, 48–51, W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, Halle, 1911, pp. 54–55, 60–61, and M. Chasles, in *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques*, 3e Année, No. 31 (July, 1917), 406–412, there are incisive treatments of special aspects of it by W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin,

to the court of Herod at Jerusalem and to the *Præsepe* at Bethlehem. In the Gospel of Matthew[6] we are told that at the close of his interview with the Magi, Herod sent them on to Bethlehem, with the command that they should search for the new-born child, and after finding him, should return to Herod's presence with a report. After visiting the *Præsepe,* however, the Magi were warned by God in a dream that they should not return to Herod; hence they departed into their own country by another route. When Herod heard of the flight of the Magi, he indulged his anger by ordering the slaughter of all the male children in the region of Bethlehem of the age of two years or less. This association of the Slaughter of the Innocents with the visit of the Magi is further maintained in the development of the Roman liturgical system. In the earlier period of liturgical history—before the fifth or sixth century—these two events were celebrated in a single feast.[7] It is entirely natural, therefore, that the Magi and the Innocents should have continued their association also in the early drama, and that simple suggestions toward a dramatization of the Slaughter of the Innocents should be found in the liturgical plays of Epiphany, known collectively under the convenient designation *Officium Stellæ.*

1901, pp. 44–48, and H. Anz, pp. 69–78. My special obligations to the last two writers will be frequently indicated below. I may be allowed to remark, however, that my present study differs in scope and purpose from the studies mentioned above. Whereas these writers re-edit none of the dramatic texts from the manuscripts (Chasles reprints the *Lamentatio Rachelis* of Limoges, either from Gautier or from the manuscript; see below, p. 24), I undertake to re-edit all of them from the manuscripts. That new editions are needed appears abundantly, I think, from the variants attached to my texts. (These variants, I may say, do not record the innumerable normalizings in spelling in the texts of my predecessors,—*miserae* for *misere, mihi* for *michi,* etc.) Furthermore I attempt to supplement the labors of the five writers mentioned in providing a dramatic commentary that is at least considerably more comprehensive than theirs. Meyer and Anz, for example, were concerned chiefly with establishing the textual relations among the several versions. Without, I hope, neglecting their illuminating results, I aim to offer a more comprehensive dramatic interpretation.

[6] Matt. ii: 8–18.

[7] Ample evidence is given by G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik,* I (Berlin, 1900), 189. See Anz, p. 70.

These embryonic dramatizations of the theme of the Innocents, usually found as terminations of the Epiphany plays, rest specifically upon the following passage in the Vulgate:

> Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem, et in omnibus finibus ejus, a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a Magis.[8]

In their treatment of this passage the versions of the *Officium Stellæ* show substantial differences. Several of them, for example, entirely ignore it.[9] The versions that explicitly approach the theme treat it in a variety of ways, and in some cases the fragmentary nature of the texts in the manuscripts renders the scope of the representation uncertain. Let us examine the specific cases.[10]

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[8] Matt. ii:16.

[9] This is true of the versions from Limoges (cf. E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina,* Lyons, 1706, p. 114), Besançon (cf. H. Crombach, *Primitiæ Gentium seu Historia SS. Trium Regum,* Cologne, 1654, pp. 732–734), Rouen (cf. bibliography in *Modern Language Notes,* XXVII, 1912, p. 69), Nevers (cf. bibliography, *ibid.*), Sicily (cf. K. Young, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XXIV, 1909, pp. 325–329), and Fleury (cf. E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age,* Rennes, 1860 pp. 143–165), and of the fragment from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 1152 (cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* XXXIV, 1873, pp. 657–658). Additional bibliography concerning these versions is given by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes,* XXVII: 68–70. The text from Vienna, Hofbibliothek, MS 1054 (*olim* 841) is not a version of the *Officium Stellæ* (cf. K. Young, *The Poema Biblicum of Onulphus,* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XXX, 1915, pp. 25–41). The absence from the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* of Herod's concluding threats concerning the Innocents is explained by the fact that in the manuscript this text is followed by a separate play upon the subject of the Innocents (See below, pp. 32, 65). To be sure, in an inappropriate place in the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* (see Coussemaker, p. 162) Herod's son urges that hostile measures be taken against the newborn Christ (*Contra illum regulum*), and Herod and his son execute the threatening gestures indicated in the rubric *Qua* [*i. e. Stella*] *visa, Herodes et Filius minentur cum gladiis* (Coussemaker, p. 163). But, at best, these details suggest the Slaughter of the Innocents only indirectly.

[10] It should be understood that in this part of my survey I do not attempt to follow chronology; I merely enumerate the texts in the order of their relative complexity, as indicated by the extant manuscripts.

The *Officium Stellæ* from Bilsen ends as follows:[11]

<ARMIGER ET HERODES.>

ARMIGER . . . :

Delusus es, Dom*i*ne; Magi uia*m* redier*unt* alia*m*.

In the play this utterance is preceded by the procession of the Magi departing from Bethlehem toward their own country in the East, and is followed in the manuscript by a line or two of text that can no longer be read. Evidently, then, the play ends with a brief scene in which *Armiger* informs Herod of the escape of the Magi, and receives his angry command for the slaughter of the Innocents.

In a similar sequence of action, the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg ends as follows:[12]

<ARMIGER ET HERODES.>

ARMIGER:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

REX:

Incendium meu*m* ruina extinguu*m*.

In this case Herod's anger at the disclosure of *Armiger* is explicitly expressed through a passage borrowed from Sallust.[13] The scene is a dramatization of the first sentence (Matt. ii: 16) in the Gospel passage quoted above:

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde.

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[11] Brussels, Library of the Bollandists, MS (without shelf-mark), Evangeliarium saec. xi, fol. 180^{v}, most recently published by G. Cohen and K. Young in *Romania*, XLIV (1916–17), 368, with variants from earlier editions.

[12] British Museum, Additional MS 23922, saec. xii–xiii, fol. 11^{r}, printed by W. de G. Birch, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, X (1874), 416, and by C. Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 415. The indications of the manuscript are that the play ends definitively with the passage printed herewith. The last word *extinguam* is immediately followed by the rubric *De S. Hilario*.

[13] Tum ille furibundus: 'Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam' (Sallust, *De Conjuratione Catilinæ*, cap. xxxi, edition of Antoine and Lallier, Paris, 1888, p. 109). For *restinguam* several manuscripts have *extinguam*. That Herod's speech is borrowed from Sallust was first pointed out by E. Wilken, *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 16. See Anz, p. 92.

The version from Malmédy, in Belgium, seems to carry the action somewhat further. After the representation of the departure of the Magi occurs the following:[14]

<Gladiator et Herodes.>

Gladiator:[15]

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, nam uiri Chaldaici <ius>sum tuum transgressi forte <per uiam> aliam[16] reuersi sunt <in terram su>am.[17]

H<erodes>:

Bethlem ne . . .[18] ice cautus m . . . ns iugulum quo caedas puer<um>.

Te Deum.

Although this text is regrettably defective in the manuscript, it seems to show that Herod's response to the message of *Gladiator* includes an explicit order for the Slaughter of the Innocents.

In the version from Einsiedeln, Herod's intention is put beyond question:[19]

<Internuntius, Armiger, et Herodes.>

Internuntius:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

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[14] Rome, Vatican, MS Vaticanus lat. 8552, saec. xi, fol. 1v, previously printed, with differences, by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII (1912), 71 (Y). The closing words *Te Deum* seem to indicate that the play ends with the passage printed herewith. Pointed brackets in my text indicate passages which are illegible through rubbing, and which are restored with more or less probability. In editing this text I have had generous assistance from my friend, the Reverend H. M. Bannister.

[15] Gladiator] Gla . . . or (Y).

[16] <per uiam> aliam] <in regionem> suam (Y).

[17] <in terram su>am] <per aliam u>iam (Y).

[18] Several words are illegible here.

[19] Einsiedeln, MS 366, saec. xi–xii, p. 53, printed by Anz, pp. 152–153. I have not seen the earlier text in *Pilger*, VIII (1849), 401–403. Anz rearranges the speeches in a manner which is neither intelligible to me nor supported, apparently, by the manuscript. The passage printed herewith is preceded immediately in the manuscript by the words *Chorus: Te Deum laudamus*, which mark the end of a version of an *Officium Stellæ*, and following our passage immediately is the rubric *Ad Prophetas. Prophete uenientes admonent*, which introduces a version of the *Processus Prophetarum*. Hence the passage that I print seems to constitute a separate dramatic division, orderly within itself, designed, probably, as an addition to the preceding *Officium Stellæ*.

ARMIGER:

Decerne, Domine, uindicare iram tuam, *et* stricto mucrone querere iube puerum; forte inter occisos occiditur[20] *et* puer.

REX:

Incendium meum ruina eorum extinguam.
Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

In this scene, three characters are concerned: *Internuntius,* who brings the message of the escape of the Magi, *Armiger,* who urges Herod to retaliate, and Herod *(Rex),* who angrily orders the slaughter. Herod's speech takes the form of two hexameters, in the first of which is embodied the Sallustian passage already observed in the Strassburg text. The second hexameter is here seen for the first time.

In a version of the *Officium Stellæ* of Norman provenience the closing scene is considerably amplified:[21]

<INTERNUNTIUS, FILIUS HERODIS, HERODES, ET DUCES.>

ILLIS <i. e. Magis> REDEUNTIBUS, INTERNUNTIUS DICAT HERODI:

Delusus es Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

QUA PERACTA, FILIUS HERODIS AD PATREM:

Salus, pater inclite,
Salue, rex egregie,
Qui ubique imperans
Sceptra tenens regia.

CUI HERODES:

Fili amantissime,
Digne laudis munere,
Laudis pompam regie
Tuo gerens nomine,

---

[20] occiditur] occidetur (Anz). Anz prints the whole passage in the following rearrangement:

Internuntius: Delusus es, domine, magi viam redierunt aliam!
Rex: Incendium meum ruina eorum extinguam.
Chorus: Te Deum lauda[mus]
Armiger: Decerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam
Et stricto mucrone querere iube puerum,
Forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.
[Rex]: Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

[21] Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Mêdecine, MS H. 304, saec. xii, fol. 42v, previously printed by the present writer in *Modern Philology,* VI (1908–09), 210–211. The fragment ends at the bottom of the manuscript page, as here printed. This version of the *Officium Stellæ* is probably associated, at least indirectly, with the liturgical use of Rouen (See *Modern Philology,* VI: 203–206).

Rex est nat*us* fortior
Nob*is*, *et* potentior.
Vereor ne nos exturb*et*
Nostri[22] regni solio.

ITE*m* FILI*us* PATRI:

Contr*a* natu*m* puerum,
Contr*a* illu*m* regulum,
Iube, pat*er*, maximum
Imminere p*re*mium.

HAC P*er*ACTA, DUCES TENENTES NUDATOS GLADIOS DICANT HERODI:

Decerne, Dom*i*ne, uindicari iram tuam, iube occidi pueros; forte inter occisos occidet*ur et* puer.

HERODES ACCEPTU*m* GLADIU*m* LIBRANS HAC *et* ILLAC REDDAT A[23] *quo* SUMPSIT . . .

The list of *dramatis personæ* shows here a certain extension. Herod's son joins in urging the massacre, and the single *Armiger* (or *Gladiator)* of previous texts is represented by *Duces* who carry drawn swords. The anger of Herod is described in the incomplete rubric with which the fragment ends, and we may surmise that the complete text included a speech from Herod formally ordering the slaughter. In view of the parallels in the series of texts now being examined it seems unlikely that the present text ever included a representation of the massacre itself. But upon this point we are far from certain. Noteworthy is the verse of the dialogue between *Herodes* and *Filius*.[24]

The Epiphany play from Compiègne introduces a new element:[25]

<NUNTIUS, ARMIGER, HERODES, ET ARMIGER.>

NUNCIUS AD REGEM:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

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[22] Nostri] no*st*ris (MS).

[23] a] *corrected by erasure from* hac (MS).

[24] Substantially the same dialogue is used, in a less appropriate sequence, in the Fleury *Officium Stellæ*. See Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, p. 162, and above, p. 5, note 9.

[25] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 16819, saec. xi, fol. 49r–49v previously printed by K. A. M. Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen, 1879, pp. 45–46. The evidence of the manuscript indicates that the *Officium Stellæ* ends definitively with the passage printed herewith, for this passage is followed immediately by the rubric: In die sancto Epyphanie Lectio Isaie prophete.

ARMIGER:

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, *et* stricto mucrone querere iube puerum; forte inter occisos <fol. 49ᵛ> occidetur *et* puer.[26]

REX:

Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

ANGELUS:

Sinite paruulos uenire ad me, talium est enim regnum celorum.

This scene differs from the scenes already examined in the presence, at the end, of *Angelus*. One cannot tell whether or not the speech of Angelus *(Sinite paruulos)*[27] indicates the actual presence of the *Innocentes* in the representation. The rubrics of the text are laconic.

In the *Officium Stellæ* from Freising the presence of the *Pueri* themselves is certain:[28]

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[26] puer] ipse (Hartmann).

[27] The antiphon *Sinite parvulos,* adapted from Marc. x: 14, is found in the Canonical Office of Innocents Day (See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 740). This antiphon appears in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Fleury (See below, p. 31).

[28] Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 6264ᵃ, saec. xi, fol. 1ʳ. I indicate illegible passages by two devices: (1) pointed brackets enclose passages that may be restored with reasonable probability; (2) dots represent passages for which no restorations are offered. The manuscript offers no evidence that the text as printed herewith was ever followed by any substantial extension of the play. Anz (p. 93) suggests that the first procession of the *Pueri* (*Eia dicamus . . . moribus ornat*) may have been designed for use in some other part of the play. My text differs substantially from the texts of E. Du Méril, p. 162; K. Weinhold, *Weihnachtspiele und Lieder aus Süddeutschland und Schlesien,* Vienna, 1875, p. 61; and Anz, p. 158. I quote the texts of these three editors.

Du Méril (p. 162):

Internuntius:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi (per?) viam redierunt aliam.

Rex prosiliens:

Incendium meum ruina extinguam.

Armiger econtra:

Decerne, Domine, vindicare iram tuam exstricto mucrone.

Rex gladium versans, reddit Armigero, dicens:

Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire.

Weinhold (p. 61):

Internuncius:

In aeternum vive, domine!
Magi viam redierunt aliam.

Rex prosiliens:

Incendium meum runia extinguam!

<INTERNUNTIUS, HERODES, ARMIGER, ET PUERI.>

INTERNUNTIUS:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

. . . PROBANT. REX PROSILIENS:

Incendium meum ruina extinguam.

. . . ARMIGER ECONTRA:

Decerne, Domine, uindicare iram tuam, et estricto mucrone querere iube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur *et* puer.

REX GLADIUM UERSANS ARMIGERO RED<D>IT DICENS:

Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire.

Armiger:
Discerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam et stricto mucrone querere jube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.
Rex gladium versans armigero reddit dicens:
Armiger eximie, pueros fac ense perire!
Hos versus cantent pueri in processione regum:
Eia dicamus regi.....dies annua(?) laudes
Hoc dedit quod meus sperare.....
.....gaudia mille.....
Hoc regnum regi.....quoq.....reddidit orbi
.....festa choreas.....
.....tenere
.....moriens
Expleto officio:
Letabundus exultet
Angelus consilii
Sicut sidus radium.

Anz (p. 158):
Internuntius:
Delusus es, domine, magi viam redierunt aliam!.....
Rex prosiliens:
Incendium meum ruina extinguam.....
Armiger:
Decerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam,
Et exstricto mucrone querere iube pueros,
Forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.
Rex gladium versans armigero reddit dicens:
Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire!
Mas omnis.
Hos [ver]sus cantent pueri in [pro]cession[e] regis:
Eia dicamus! regi [as hec] fert dies annua laudes,
Hoc [dies] ista dedit, quod mens sperare nequivit.
A[ttulit et] ver[e] votorum gaudia mille;
Hoc regnum reg[i], pac[e]m quoque reddidit orbi,
[Nobis divitias, de]cus, odas, festa, choreas!
Hunc regna[re dec]et [et] reg[ni scep]tra tenere,
Regis [nomen a]mat, nomen quia morib[u]s ornat.
Expleto off[icio]. P.....ent....eri:
Letabundus exultat [fi]delis chorus angelorum,
Angelus cons[ilii n]atus est de virgine sol (de stella)
Sicut sidus radium prof[er]t virgo [filiu]m....

Vel:

Mas omnis.[29]

Hos uersus cantent pueri in processione Regis:

Eia! dicamus.
Regias <hic> fert dies annua laudes;
Hoc lux ista dedit, quod mens sperare nequiuit.
<Attulit et> uere uotorum gaudia mille;
Hoc regnum regi pacem quoque reddidit orbi,
N<obis diui>cias, decus, odas, festa, choreas.
Hunc regna<re decet> et reg<ni> sceptra tenere;
Regis <nomen> amat, nomen quia moribus or<nat>.

Expleto officio pueri cantent . . . :

Letabundus exultat fidelis chorus angel<orum>.[30]
Angelus cons<ilii> natus est de uirgine sol de ste<l>la.
Sicut sidus <ra>dium profert uirgo <fi>lium <pari forma>.[31]

Unfortunately the defective state of this text in the manuscript renders the rôle of the *Pueri* somewhat uncertain.[32] They apparently take part in a procession at the end of the *Officium Stellæ;* but there is no positive evidence that the Slaughter of the Innocents is specifically set forth.

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[29] The following is the fourth stanza of the hymn *Salvete flores martyrum Quos lucis ipso in limine* (Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 18344) for Innocents Day:

Mas omnis infans occidat,
Scrutare nutricum sinus,
Fraus ne qua furtim substrahat
Prolem virilis indolis.

I follow the text of H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, I, Leipzig, 1855, pp. 124–125. The following is the sixth stanza of the Versus *Cum natus esset dominus Turbatur rex incredulus* (Chevalier, *Rep. Hymn.*, No. 488) for Innocents Day:

Mas omnis infans occidit,
Quem novus partus protulit,
Scrutatur, ah, cunabula,
Ac ipsa matrum ubera.

I follow the text of Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, III: 295. See Anz, pp. 102–103.

[30] angel<orum>] Alleluia, in all the manuscripts collated in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 5–7. The manuscript before us seems to have angl...; but I do not consider this reading certain.

[31] These last three lines are found as the first, third, and fifth sentences of a well-known sequence (Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 10012), a critical text of which is found in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 5. Additional information concerning this sequence is given in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXIII, Fasc. i, Jan., 1914, Supplement, p. 224.

[32] See, for example, the suggestions of Anz, p. 93.

In this review of the closing scenes of several versions of the *Officium Stellæ* we have observed certain close approaches to a dramatization of the Slaughter of the Innocents, but in no instance have we certainty that this subject was explicitly represented. The versions that are preserved in complete form certainly provide no such representation, and we have no proof that the fragmentary versions were more comprehensively developed in this respect.

II

For a genuine dramatization of the central theme of the Innocents in some sort of connection with a play of the Magi we may turn to the *Officium Stellæ* from Laon, the complete text of which stands as follows:[1]

ORDO STELLE

STELLA APPARENTE, TRES REGES E DIUERSIS PARTIBUS UENIUNT, *et* PRIMUS DICIT:

Stella fulgore nimio rutilat.

Secundus DICIT:

Que <fol. 149ᵛ> regem regum natum monstrat.

TERTIUS DICIT:

Quem uenturum olim prophetia signauerat.

TRES SIMUL:

Eamus ergo *et* inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera: aurum, thus, *et* mirram; quia scriptum didicimus:[2] Adorabunt eum om*n*es reges, om*n*es gentes seruient ei.

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[1] Laon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 263, Troparium-Hymnarium-Prosarium Laudunense saec. xiii, fol. 149ʳ–151ʳ. The manuscript is very briefly described in *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, I, Paris, 1849, p. 155. The text now reedited from the manuscript has been previously printed by U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Église cathédrale de Laon* (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VI), Paris, 1897, pp. 389–394 (C). Among my variants from Chevalier's edition I do not include mere differences in spelling, such as his *jam* for *iam*. For the text before us the manuscript provides no musical notation. The text as printed is followed immediately in the manuscript by the rubric *Ordo Ioseph*, indicating the beginning of a play of Joseph and his brethren, printed by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), 33–37.

[2] didicimus] dedicimus (C).

NUNTIUS AD MAGOS:

Qui uos? quid queritis? uel quo iam tendere uultis?

MAGI:

Ex oriente sumus, Iherosolimam tendentes; natum regem querimus.

NUNTIUS AD REGEM:

Viuat Rex in eternum!

ITEM NUNTIUS AD REGEM:

En Magi ueniunt,
Et regem regum[3] natum stella duce requirunt.

REX AD NUNTIUM:

Ante uenire iube, quod possim singula scire
Qui sint, cur ueniant, quo nos rumore requirant.

NUNTIUS AD MAGOS:

Regia uos mandata uocant; non segniter[4] ite.

MAGI REGEM SALUTANT:

Aue, Rex Iudeorum!

REX AD MAGOS:

Regem quem queritis, natum esse quo signo didicistis?[5]

MAGI:

Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente, stella monstrante.

REX AD MAGOS:

Si illum regnare creditis, dicite michi.

MAGI:

Hunc regnare fatentes, cum misticis muneribus de terra longinqua adorare uenimus, trinum Deum[6] uenerantes tribus in muneribus:

PRIMUS:

Auro regem,

SECUNDUS:

Thure sacerdotem,

TERTIUS:

Mirra mortalem.

REX AD SYMMISTAS:

Huc, Symmiste[7] mei, disertos pagina Scribas prophetica ad me uocate. <fol. 150r>

SIMMISTE AD SCRIBAS:

Vos, legis periti, a Rege uocati, cum prophetarum libris properando uenite.

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[3] regum] *omitted* (C).
[4] segniter] senniter (Ms).
[5] didicistis] dedicistis (C).
[6] Deum] Dominum (C).
[7] Symmiste] simite (Ms); C, *reads* si mire, *but corrects to* symmiste.

REX AD SCRIBAS:

O uos Scribe interrogati, dicite si quid de hoc puero scriptum uideritis in libro.

RESPONDENT SCRIBE:

Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum libris: Bethleem, non es minima in principibus Iuda, ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel; ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum.

REX AD MAGOS:

Ite *et* de puero diligenter inuestigate,
Et, inuento, redeuntes mihi renuntiate.

MAGI INCLINANTES DISCEDUNT, *et* ITERUM UIDENTES STELLAM DICUNT:

Ecce stella, ecce stella, et ecce stella in oriente preuisa[8]
Iterum reducit nos lucida, lucida, lucida,
Quam Balaam ex Iudaica orituram[9] dixerat prosapia,
Que nostrorum oculis, fulguranti[10] lumine, perstrinxit[11] pauidos
Lucida, lucida, lucida.
Ipsam simul, ipsam simul, ipsam simul congrediendo sectantes
Non relinquamus ultra, donec nos perducat ad cunabula.

OBSTETRICES AD MAGOS, ANTEQUAM INTRENT:

Qui sunt hi[12] qui, stella duce, nos adeuntes mandata ferunt?

MAGI:

Nos sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis et Arabum *et* Sabba, dona ferentes Xpisto regi[13] nato Domino, quem, stella deducente, adorare uenimus.

OBSTETRICES INTRODUCENTES MAGOS, OSTENDUNT PUERUM *et* DICUNT:

Ecce Puer adest quem queritis; <fol. 150ᵛ> introeuntes adorate, quia ipse est redemptio[14] mundi.

ACCEDUNT MAGI *et* GENUFLEXO PRIMUS DICIT:

Suscipe, Rex, aurum.

SECUNDUS:

Tolle thus, tu uere Deus.

TERTIUS:

Mirram, signum sepulture.

JOSEPH AD MAGOS:

Multi reges *et* prophete
Uoluerunt hec uidere
Que auditis *et* uidetis;
Nec concessum fuit illis.

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[8] preuisa] pervisa (C).
[9] orituram] oriturum (Ms).
[10] fulguranti] fulgurante (C).
[11] perstrinxit] perstrincxit (Ms); pertrinxit (C).
[12] hi] *omitted* (C).
[13] regi] rege (Ms).
[14] redemptio] redemptor (C).

ANGELUS:

Impleta sunt omnia que prophetice dicta sunt; ite, uiam redeuntes aliam, ne delatores tanti regis puniendi eritis.

MAGI REDEUNTES CANTANT:

Secundum quod dictum est nobis ab angelo de puero isto, inuenimus infantem pannis inuolutum *et* positum in presepio in medio duum animalium.

NUNTIUS AD REGEM:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

ARCHELAUS AD REGEM:

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, *et* stricto mucrone querere iube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur *et* puer.

REX GLADIUM REDDENS ARCHELAO DICIT:

Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

INTERIM PUERI, AGNUM PORTANTES, INTRANT CANTANTES:

Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, alleluia.

ITERUM *et* TERTIO UENIUNT ARMATI. CLAMANT PUERI DUM OCCIDUNTUR:

Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum?

ANGELUS:

Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum uestrorum.

VENIT RACHEL, *et* EXCLAMANS CUM FLETU DICIT:

O dulces innocentum acies!
O pia lactantum[15] pro Xpisto certamina!
Paruorum truci <fol. 151r> dantur milia;
Membris ex teneris manant lactis flumina.

CONSOLATRIX:

Noli, uirgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater,
Pro nece paruorum fletus reticere dolorum.

RACHEL:

Gaudia non possunt,[16] nam dulcia pignora non sunt,
Judee florem, patrie lacrimando decorem.

CONSOLATRIX:

Tu, que tristaris, exulta, que lacrimaris,
Namque tui nati uiuunt super astra beati.

RACHEL:

Heu! Heu!
Quomodo gaudebo dum mortua membra uidebo?
Dum sic commota fuero per uiscera tota
Me facient uere pueri sine fine dolere.

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[15] lactantum] lactantium (C).

[16] possunt] possum (Ms. and C).

CONSOLATRIX:

Supplico ne plores, que tanto sanguine flores
Ast oculos flentes, lacrimas quoque terge fluentes.

RACHEL:

In dolorem est conuersum
Quod habebam gaudium.

CONSOLATRIX:

Quam beata sunt innocentum ab Herode cesa corpuscula!
Quam felices existunt matres, fuderunt que talia pignora!

RACHEL:

Planctus matrum *et* Rachelis equa sunt suspiria
Nulla quidem consolatur magna pre tristitia.
Ey[17] dolor est! Nolo consolari quia non sunt.

A mere glance at this text reveals the fact that the Slaughter of the Innocents, as ordered and effected by Herod according to the narrative of the Vulgate, is here actually dramatized. Herod's final command, *Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire,* which marks the end of a normal version of the *Officium Stellæ* such as that from Einsiedeln,[18] is here promptly executed in a true dramatic representation. The sequence of the dramatic action aptly follows that of the Gospel account: *Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros.*[19]

The question, however, as to whether the dramatization of the Innocents scene in this case constitutes a true extension of the preceding play, resulting from a mere continuance of the dramatic impulse further into the Gospel narrative, or whether the attachment of the new scene to a normal form of *Officium Stellæ* is accomplished so mechanically[20] as to indicate an essentially independent Innocents play of separate origin,—this question need not, at present, be answered. Whatever our final opinion may be in this particular matter, we may, without impropriety, study the Innocents scene before us first by itself, and may, for the moment, speak of it as if it were an independent version of the *Ordo Rachelis.*

[17] Ey] En (C).
[18] See above, pp. 7–8.
[19] Matt. ii: 16.
[20] See Anz, p. 78; Meyer, p. 48.

At the opening of the action the *Pueri,* conducting *(portantes)* the lamb, enter singing[21] *Ecce agnus Dei.* The soldiers promptly appear, and without utterance proceed with the massacre.[22] As the Pueri fall, they cry out for protection *(Quare non defendis),* and receive the reassuring response of the angel *(Adhuc sustinete).* Rachel now enters, and with her lament of four lines begins the dialogue with *Consolatrix* that constitutes the body of the scene.

In schematic outline the action of the version before us may be presented as follows:

I. Processio Puerorum
  Pueri ..... Ecce agnus Dei.
II. Interfectio Puerorum
  Pueri ..... Quare non defendis.
  Angelus ..... Adhuc sustinete.
III. Lamentatio Rachelis
  Rachel ..... O dulces innocentum.
  Consolatrix ..... Noli, virgo Rachel.
  Rachel ..... Gaudia non possunt.
  Consolatrix ..... Tu, que tristaris.
  Rachel ..... Quomodo gaudebo.
  Consolatrix ..... Supplico ne plores.
  Rachel ..... In dolorem.
  Consolatrix ..... Quam beata.
  Rachel ..... Planctus matrum.

Let us now consider the sources of the several divisions in order, beginning with the *Processio Puerorum.* The presence of the lamb is amply explained by the Epistle of the day (Apoc. xiv: 1–5), in which we read,

> Et vidi, et ecce Agnus stabat supra montem Sion, et cum eo centum quadraginta quatuor millia . . . Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati: virgines enim sunt. *Hi sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit.*[23]

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[21] It will be remembered that the manuscript provides no musical notation.

[22] I am not certain as to the interpretation of the rubric *Iterum et tertio ueniunt Armati.* Possibly the words *iterum et tertio* are to be construed with the preceding utterance of the *Pueri,* indicating the singing of the *Ecce agnus Dei* three times, under the influence of the Roman Mass (See below, p. 19). Possibly the rubric indicates repeated enterings of the *Armati.*

[23] Apoc. xiv, 1, 4.

This motive of the procession of the Lamb appears frequently in liturgical poetry.[24] The text that the *Pueri* actually sing comes ultimately from the Gospel of John (i:29):

Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.[25]

In the second division of the Innocents scene the actual slaughtering of the *Pueri* is briefly dramatized. The killing of the *Pueri* itself is represented in dumb-show by *armati*. The action is accompanied by a dialogue between the *Pueri* and *Angelus*, the text of the dialogue being drawn from the following responsory of the Canonical Office:

Sub altare Dei audivi voces occisorum: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? et acceperunt divinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum, donec impleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. VERSUS: Vidi sub altare Dei animas sanctorum, propter verbum Domini quod habebant, et clara voce dicebant. Quare non.[26]

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[24] See Anz, p. 71.

[25] The *Agnus Dei* appears in the Roman Mass in the following form:

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

The triple singing of the *Agnus Dei* is at least as old as the twelfth century. See Rietschel, *op. cit.*, I, 388; N. Gihr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, St. Louis, 1908, p. 715; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, London, 1905, p. 109. The formula of the *Agnus Dei* is found also in the following responsory for the third nocturn of Christmas Matins:

Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi. Ecce de quo dicebam vobis: Qui post me venit ante me factus est, cuius non sum dignus corrigiam calciamenti soluere. Versus: Hoc est testimonium quod perhibuit Iohannem. Qui post. (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, saec. x, p. 49, facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Deuxième Série, Vol. I).

[26] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 739–740, where it is found as the first responsory of Matins for Innocents Day. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, p. 168, speaks of *Sub altare Dei* as being the *second* responsory. The *Antiphonarium Hartkeri* (p. 65) presents this liturgical piece as the first responsory for Matins of Innocents Day, in the following somewhat different form:

Sub altare Dei audiui uoces occisorum dicentium: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt diuinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. Versus: Vidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum propter verbum Dei quod habebant, et clara uoce dicebant. Quare.

This responsory is, of course, formed from the following passage in the Vulgate:

Et cum aperuisset sigillum quintum, vidi subtus altare animas interfectorum propter verbum Dei, et propter testimonium quod habebant;

Et clamabant voce magna, dicentes: Usquequo, Domine (sanctus et verus), non judicas, et non vindicas sanguinem nostrum de iis qui habitant in terra?

Et datæ sunt illis singulæ stolæ albæ; et dictum est illis ut requiescerent adhuc tempus modicum, donec compleantur conservi eorum, et fratres eorum, qui interficiendi sunt sicut et illi.[27]

Obviously the responsory is more dramatic in form, and more apt for dramatic use, than is the Vulgate narrative. The divine response, recounted in the Vulgate in indirect discourse *(dictum est illis ut requiescerent)*, becomes in the responsory direct discourse *(acceperunt divinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete)*, the change resulting in a dialogue in which the cry of the dying children calls forth a comforting reply from the angel. It appears, then, that the authors of the *Ordo Rachelis* borrowed this dialogue from the responsory; and they used it successfully in more than one version of the play.[28]

The greater part of the play,[29] however, is included in the

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[27] Apoc. vi: 9–11.

[28] See below pp. 24, 29. The possibility of an initiating influence from the responsory will be considered below, pp. 64–65. It should be observed that probably in no form of liturgical rendition of the responsory would the full dramatic force of the dialogue be explicitly indicated by an appropriate assignment of separate parts to separate voices; for probably one voice, or group of voices, would always sing the question, the reply, and the connecting narrative. See P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant liturgique*, Tournai, 1904, pp. 135–143; and the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVII, Part I (1912), 344–346. It appears then, that the successful adaptation of the dramatic speeches from the responsory is to be credited to the author, or authors, of the *Ordo Rachelis*. The writers of liturgical plays, to be sure, are not always faultless in such adaptations, as we may see, for example, from a speech of the Shepherds (*Pastores loquebantur ad invicem*) in the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg *(Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII: 414), a speech in which the Shepherds mention themselves in the third person.

[29] I am still regarding the Innocents scene of the Laon *Officium Stellæ* as if it were an independent play.

third division, consisting of five utterances by Rachel and four by *Consolatrix*. In considering the provenience of these dramatic personages we revert naturally to the Vulgate narrative of Matthew (ii:16–18):

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem, et in omnibus finibus ejus, a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a Magis.

Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Jeremiam prophetam, dicentem:

Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.

Of these verses the one that inevitably appealed most vividly to the mediaeval imagination was the last,—a verse that received prominence not only as part of the liturgical Gospel of the day, but also as a prophecy of Jeremiah,[30] and as the *Communio* in the Mass of Innocents Day.[31] Through one or more of these agencies arose the two figures of Rachel and her comforter *(Consolatrix)*, the former explicitly named in the sources, and the latter implied *(noluit consolari)*.[32]

But though the Vulgate and the liturgy provide, or suggest, these two personages, the sources mentioned supply for them no direct utterances. This need is met by the imaginations of liturgical poets, among whose productions are found a considerable part of the passages spoken by Rachel and *Consolatrix* in the play before us.

Rachel's first speech *(O dulces . . . lactis flumina)* is supplied completely, and probably directly, by two sentences (20 and 21) from the sequence *Celsa pueri concrepent melodia*.[33] Two other sentences (18 and 19) from the same

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[30] Hæc dicit Dominus: Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis, luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt (Jer. xxxi:15).

[31] Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus. Rachel plorans filios suos, noluit consolari, quia non sunt (Migne. *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII:648).

[32] See Anz, pp. 72, 78.

[33] Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 2747. A critical text is found in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, LIII:264–265. This text

sequence supply the last utterance of *Consolatrix (Quam beata . . . talia pignora).* From another sequence is drawn the greater part *(Planctus matrum . . . pre tristitia)* of Rachel's last speech.[34] The last sentence of this speech *(Ey dolor . . . non sunt),*—presumably a hexameter,—is manifestly formed upon the following passage of the Vulgate: *Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.*[35] For Rachel's fourth speech *(In dolorem . . . gaudium)* no source is forthcoming.[36]

As to sources for the first three speeches of *Consolatrix,* and for the second and third utterances of Rachel, we have only doubtful proposals. It will be observed that the eleven lines of these five speeches *(Noli uirgo . . . terge fluentes)* stand apart from the rest of the play as a continuous passage in Leonine hexameters. Meyer conjectures[37] that in composing this passage the author was guided by some text similar to that preserved in the Freising *Ordo Rachelis.*[38] This conjecture is supported by certain rather tenuous verbal resemblances between the Laon text and that from Freising.[39] By a more elaborate argument Anz would prove[40] that the three speeches of *Consolatrix* originally constituted a single utterance, which was a mere revision of the speech of *Angelus* in the Innocents trope from Limoges.[41] Since the details of these conjectures will be presented below,[42] they may be momentarily dismissed with the remark that to the present writer they seem largely indecisive.

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supersedes that of J. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen,* Mainz, 1873, p. 250. See Meyer, p. 45.

[34] The sequence is *Misit Herodes innocentum* (sentences 5 and 6), listed by Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum,* No. 11620. See Meyer, p. 45. The text of Kehrein (p. 249) is now superseded by that of Blume and Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica,* LIV: 70–71.

[35] Matt. ii: 18. See Meyer, p. 45.

[36] See Meyer, p. 45; Anz, p. 74.

[37] See Meyer, pp. 45–46.

[38] See below, pp. 44–45.

[39] See below, p. 53.

[40] See Anz, pp. 74–77.

[41] See below, pp. 57–60.

[42] See below, pp. 53–62, where is discussed also the fact that the first nine of the Leonines in the Laon version are found also in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Fleury.

When we pass from matters of content to matters of dramatic presentation, we find only meagre information. As to the setting of the stage the rubrics are entirely silent. In regard to impersonation, however, the intimations of the rubrics, though slight, are sufficiently conclusive. The words *Pueri agnum portantes* and *Armati* certainly imply impersonation; and a mimetic intention may be confidently assumed also for *Angelus, Rachel,* and *Consolatrix.*

III

As has already been suggested, the presence of the Laon *Ordo Rachelis* at the end of a version of the *Officium Stellæ* is in itself no final proof that the scene of the Innocents arose through a mere extension of the preceding action. Although the *Ordo Rachelis* is the natural dramatic consequence of the anger of Herod expressed at the end of the normal Epiphany play, the Innocents play may still have been independent of the *Officium Stellæ* in its literary origin, and may have attached itself to the *Officium Stellæ* only after a substantial independent development. This possibility is, in any case, suggested by the fact that the *Ordo Rachelis* is found as a separate dramatic unit in at least three versions. To a consideration of these we now naturally turn.

The simplest version is from the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges:[1]

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[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 1139, Troparium Martialense saec. xi, fol. 32ᵛ–33ʳ. The manuscript is described by E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age,* Paris, 1852, pp. 126–127, and by the same author in his *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age,* Rennes, 1860, pp. 311–319. Since this manuscript contains the famous *Sponsus,* numerous notes upon it have been written by students of romanic dialects. (See W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Uebungsbuch,* Leipzig, 1902, col. 91–94). The text printed below has been previously edited four times: (1) by C. Magnin, in *Journal des Savants,* 1846, p. 93 (M); (2) by E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie,* p. 128 (Co); (3) by L. Gautier, *Les Tropes,* Paris, 1886, p. 168, (G); and by M. Chasles, in *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques,* 3ᵉ Année, No. 31 (July, 1917), p. 407 (Ch). I omit from consideration the very fragmen-

<Responsorium>: Sub[2] altare Dei audiui uoces occisorum dicentium: *Versus*:[3] Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt diuinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum uestrorum. <Versus>: Vidi[4] <sub altare Dei animas sanctorum, propter uerbum Domini quod habebant, et clara uoce dicebant. Quare non.>

[5]Lamentatio Rachel:[6]

O[7] dulces filii, quos nunc progenui, <fol. 33r>
Olim dicta mater, quod nomen tenui?
Olim per pignora uocor puerpera,
Modo sum misera natorum uidua.
Heu! michi misere! cum possim uiuere,
Cum natos coram me uideo perdere,
Atque lacerare parum[8] detruncare.
Herodes impius,[9] furore repletus,
Nimium superbus perdit meos[10] partus.

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tary text of Du Méril, p. 46. Gautier's text was reprinted by Anz, pp. 72–73. Coussemaker's Plate XII imperfectly reproduces part of the text in facsimile, with its accompanying musical notation. Coussemaker's text (p. 128) and his Plate XII are not in precise agreement. It should be observed also that Coussemaker omits the introductory responsory *Sub altare*. The text as printed in the present study is immediately preceded in the manuscript by a blank space of about two centimeters, which, in turn, is preceded by an irrelevant trope of the *Deus in adjutorium*, ending . . . *Tibi, Xpiste, rex glorie, gloria tibi, Domine*. My text, which ends in the manuscript at the very bottom of fol. 33r, is immediately followed, at the top of fol. 33v, by a fresh trope (probably of the *Benedicamus*) beginning *In hoc festo breuiter iubilemus pariter, conlaudantes Dominum, saluatorem omnium*.

[2] Sub] V. Sub (Ch).

[3] Versus] *omitted* (G and Ch).

[4] uestrorum. <Versus> : Vidi] vestrorum V. Vidi (G); vestrorum (M); vestrorum R. Vidi (Ch). In place of the passage in brackets after *Vidi*, Chasles prints the following as if it were in the MS: sub altare Dei animas interfectorum propter verbum Dei, et propter testimonium quod habebant, et clamabant, voce magna dicentes: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt divinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus donec impleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum.

[5] Co. begins here.

[6] Lamentatio Rachel] *omitted* (Ch).

[7] O] *omitted* (M).

[8] parum] partim (Co).

[9] impius] Aegyptus (M).

[10] meos] mons (Ms.).

ANGELUS:
Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora.
Cur tristaris,[11] *et* tundis pectora?
Noli flere, sed gaude potius,
Cui[12] nati uiuunt felicius.
Ergo gaude!
Summi patris eterni[13] filius,
Hic est ille quem *que*rit *per*dere,
Qui uos facit eterne uiuere.
Ergo *gaude*!

From the external point of view this text may be described as a dramatic trope of the responsory *Sub altare Dei*.[14] The dramatic content of the responsory itself we have already observed in the course of our examination of the *Ordo Rachelis* from Laon.[15] In that play the dialogue embedded in the responsory is extracted, and adapted to form an integral part of the action of the drama, whereas in the Limoges text before us the responsory remains intact as a purely liturgical element. The lament of Rachel and the response of the angel are introduced by the rubrics *Lamentatio Rachel* and *Angelus* respectively; the responsory itself bears no rubric indicating dramatic intention.[16]

Although, then, the actual dramatization of the massacre itself lies dormant in the responsory, the lament of Rachel

[11] Cur tristaris] *The MS may read* Cor tristaris,—*with good sense;* Contristaris (M and Co).

[12] Cui] Tui (G and Ch).

[13] eterni] eterun (Ms).

[14] Upon this point Gautier (p. 168) expresses doubt as follows: "Je dois ajouter que je ne suis pas absolument certain que le dialogue suivant, entre l'Ange et Rachel, doive être considéré comme le Trope du répons *Sub altare;* mais je suis très porté à le croire." One can scarcely feel certainty in a matter of liturgical poetry concerning which Gautier has expressed doubt, even though the basis for the doubt is not apparent. As I have explained above (See p. 25, note), the text before us is found in a series of tropes of liturgical pieces in the Canonical Office, and tropes of responsories,—or proses appended to responsories,—are not uncommon in French liturgical manuscripts. See, for example, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss lat. 9425, fol. 42v-45r; 1309, fol. 30v, 85v; 1298, fol. Bibl. Nat., Mss lat. 9425, fol. 42v–45r; 1309, fol. 30v, 85v; 1298, fol. 25v–31r; 1273, fol. 50r; and Gautier, p. 167.

[15] See above, pp. 19–20.

[16] The blank space of about two centimeters in the manuscript immediately before the opening words of the responsory may have been left for a significant rubric of a word or two; but such a rubric could scarcely alter the purely liturgical status of the responsory itself.

is presented in dramatic form in the two substantial utterances of Rachel and *Angelus*. The speech of Rachel constitutes a stanza of nine twelve-syllable lines, with prevailing internal rime.[17] Since sources are not forthcoming from the liturgy, and since this stanza seems not to be found elsewhere, we may regard it as an original composition. The response of *Angelus* takes the form of seven ten-syllable lines, with the refrain *Ergo gaude* after the fourth line and the seventh.[18] For this utterance I know of no direct sources.[19]

The meagreness of the rubrics in the Limoges text precludes a positive statement as to the manner in which the dramatic dialogue was rendered.[20] From the absence of all evidence of impersonation we must infer that we have before us a dramatic poem rather than a drama.

IV

In the two versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* already considered,—those from Laon and Limoges,—the one absorbing rôle is that of Rachel: her lament, or laments, and the comforting utterances of *Consolatrix*. A very marked extension in dramatic content is found in the version from the monastery of St. Benoit at Fleury:[1]

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[17] See Meyer, p. 47.

[18] Meyer (p. 47) designates as the refrain, *Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora.* Anz (p. 73) notes the successful effect of the refrain *Ergo gaude.*

[19] Suggestions for certain of the expressions in this speech may have been found in such traditional liturgical forms as the following:

(1) Versus: Noli flere, Maria (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII; 770).

(2) Antiphona: Alleluia, noli flere, Maria, alleluia; resurrexit Dominus, alleluia, alleluia. (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 241.)

(3) Antiphona: Gaude, Maria virgo! cunctas hereses sola interemisti in uniuerso mundo (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 117).

Whether or not these feeble suggestions were in the mind of the Limoges poet, nothing is detracted from his originality.

[20] It would be hazardous to suggest that the dialogue was delivered between half-choirs, or between *cantor* (or *cantores*) and choir, or between two *cantores*. As to the manner in which the preceding responsory may have been delivered see above, p. 20, note 28.

[1] Orleans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 201 (*olim* 178), Miscellanea Floriacensia saec. xii, pp. 214–220. The manuscript is described by C. Cuissard, in *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, Paris, 1889, pp. 108–109, and by Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 326–328. The *Ordo Rachelis* is provided with musical notation on four lines. The text of this play has been previously

<ORDO RACHELIS>

<A> d[2] interfectionem Puerorum induantur Innocentes stolis albis, et gaudentes[3] per monasterium, orent Deum[4] dicentes:[5]

<O>[6] quam gloriosum[7] est regnum <in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti amicti stolis albis; sequuntur agnum quocumque ierít>.

Tunc Agnus ex inprouiso ueniens, portans[8] crucem, antecedat eos[9] huc et illuc, et illi sequentes cantent:[10]

Emitte agnum, Domine, <dominatorem terrae de petra deserti ad montem filiae Sion>.[11]

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published four times by the following editors: (1) L.-J.-N. Monmerqué, in *Mélanges de la Société des Bibliophiles français*, 1831–32, pp. 147–154 (B); (2) T. Wright, *Early Mysteries and Other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, London, 1838, pp. 29–31. Wright based his text upon proof-sheets furnished him by Monmerqué. See Wright, p. vi. Wright's emendations may be traced through the variants appended to my text below. (W); (3) Du Méril, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–179 (D); (4) Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 166–177 (C). In printing the variants from Coussemaker I follow his *Texte seul*, pp. 173–177. Only Coussemaker publishes the music. In the manuscript the text printed herewith is immediately preceded by the words *Te Deum. Sic finit*, which mark the end of the Fleury *Officium Stellæ*. My text is followed immediately by the rubric *Ad faciendam dominici sepulcri . . .* indicating the beginning of a version of the Easter play, *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

[2] <A>d] Ad (B. W. D. C.). MS leaves ample space for the capital A, which was never inserted.

[3] gaudentes] gradientes *suggested* (D).

[4] Deum] Dominum (B. W. D.).

[5] In the MS the word *dicentes* is followed by a small blank space of about eight millimeters, after which the text proceeds as follows: *Tunc Agnus ex inprouiso ueniens, portans crucem, antecedat eos huc et illuc, et illi sequentes cantent:* <p. 215> <*O*> *quam glōsiosum est regnum, Emitte agnum, Domine. Interim Armiger.* The four previous editors (B. W. D. C) all note the obvious omission after *dicentes*. At the point of omission B. W. and D. supply the words *Quam gloriosum, etc.*, and C., the words *Quam gloriosum est regnum, etc.* B. W. and D. print the formula *Quam gloriosum est regnum* also in the position that it occupies in the manuscript. C. avoids this repetition. All four editors omit the capital <O>. It will be observed that, in general arrangement at this point, C and my text are in substantial agreement.

[6] <O>] omitted by B. W. D. and C. In the MS a blank space is left for this capital letter, and musical notation is provided for it. The complete text of the liturgical piece as supplied in brackets is found among the antiphons of Vespers for the Vigil of All Saints in the tenth-century *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 331.

[7] gloriosum] glōsiosum (MS).

[8] portans] *corrected from* porotans (MS).

[9] eos] hos (B. D); *omitted* (C).

[10] cantent] dicant (D. C).

[11] Antiphon for Lauds on Monday of the last week of Advent, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 37. See also Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII; 731.

Interim Armiger quidam offerat Herodi sedenti sceptrum suum dicens:

Super solium Dauid,[12] <et super regnum ejus sedebit in aeternum, alleluia>.[13]

Interea Angelus super presepe apparens[14] moneat Ioseph fugere in Egiptum cum Maria. Angelus dicat[15] tribus uicibus Ioseph:[16]

Ioseph, Ioseph, Ioseph, fili Dauid!

Postea dicat hec:

Tolle puerum et matrem eius, et uade in Egiptum, et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi.[17] Futurum est enim ut Herodes querat puerum ad perdendum eum.

Ioseph abiens, non uidente Herode, cum Maria portante Puerum, dicens:

Egipte, noli fiere,[18] <quia dominator tuus venient tibi, ante cujus conspectum movebuntur abyssi, liberare populum tuum de manu potentis. Versus: Ecce dominator Dominus cum virtute veniet. Ante cujus>.[19]

Interim Armiger, nuncians Magos per aliam uiam rediisse[20] salutat[21] prius Regem; postea dicat:

Rex, in eternum uiue! Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam[22] redierunt aliam.

Tunc Herodes, quasi corruptus,[23] arrepto gladio, paret seipsum occidere; sed prohibeatur tandem a suis et pacificetur, dicens:

Incendium meum ruina restinguam.

Interea Innocentes, adhuc gradientes post Agnum, decantent:

Agno sacrato[24]	pro nobis mortificato, <p. 216>
Splendorem patris	splendorem uirginitatis
Offerimus Xpisto	sub signo luminis[25] isto.
Multis ira modis	ut quos inquirit Herodis
Agno[26] saluemur,	cum Xpisto conmoriemur.

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[12] Dauid] David etc. (C).

[13] Antiphon of the *Benedictus* in Lauds of the second Sunday before Christmas, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 24.

[14] apparens] *corrected from* appareat (MS).

[15] Angelus dicat] dicens (B. D).

[16] Ioseph] *omitted* (B. D. C).

[17] tibi] *omitted* (B. W. D. C).

[18] fiere] fiere etc. (C).

[19] Fifth responsory of Matins for the third Sunday before Christmas, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 28.

[20] rediisse] redisse (MS).

[21] salutat] salutet (B. W. D).

[22] uiam] per viam (B. W. D).

[23] corruptus] correptus (W. D).

[24] sacrato] sancto (B); [jam] sancto (W).

[25] luminis] numinis (W); numinis *suggested* (B. D).

[26] Agno] A quo (B. W).

ARMIGer SUGGERAT HERODI DICENS:[27]

Discerne,[28] Domine, uindicare iram tuam, *et* stricto mucrone iube occidi pueros; forte inter occisos[29] occidetur *et* Xpistus.

HERODES TRADENS EI GLADIUM DICENS:[30]

Armiger eximie, pueros fac ense perire.

INTERIM, OCCISORIBUS UENIENTIBUS, SUBTRAHATUR AGNUS CLAM, QUEM ABEUNTEM[31] SALUTANT[32] INNOCENTES:[33]

Salue, Agnus Dei! Salue, qui tollis[34] peccata mundi, alleluia!

TUNC MATRES OCCIDENTES ORENT OCCISOS:[35]

Oremus, tenere natorum parcite uite.

POSTEA, IACENTIBUS INFANTIBUS, ANGELUS AB EXCELSO ADMONEAT[36] EOS, DICENS:

Vos qui in puluere[37] estis, expergiscimini *et* clamate.

INFANTES IACENTES:

Quare non defendis <p. 217> sanguinem nostrum, Deus noster?

ANGELUS:

Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum[38] uestrorum.

TUNC INDUCATUR RACHEL, *et* DUE CONSOLATRICES; *et* STANS SUPER PUEROS PLANGAT, CADENS ALIQUANDO, DICENS:

Heu, teneri partus, laceros quos cernimus artus!
Heu, dulces nati, sola rabie iugulati!
Heu, quem[38a] nec pietas nec uestra coercuit etas!
Heu, matres misere que cogimur ista uidere!
Heu, quid nunc agimus cur non hec facta subimus!
Heu, quia memores[39] nostrosque leuare dolores
Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora desunt!

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[27] Herodi dicens] Herodes dicentes (MS).
[28] Discerne] Decerne *suggested* (D).
[29] occisos] oculos (MS).
[30] dicens] dicat (D. C).
[31] quem abeuntem] qui abeuntes (MS).
[32] salutant] salutent (B. D).
[33] Innocentes] Innocentes dicentes (B. W. D).
[34] tollis] tollit (MS. B. W).
[35] occidentes orent occisos] occisorum orent occidentes (B. W. D); occidentes orent (C).
[36] admoneat] ut moneant (MS); appareat et moneat (B. W. D); moneat (C).
[37] puluere] *MS corrects from* pulcuere.
[38] fratrum] *MS corrects from* faratrum
[38a] quem] quia (C).
[39] quia memores] quid memores (B. D); Quid . . . memores (W). *For* memores *D. and C. suggest* moerores (merores). *Anz (p. 76) emends* Heu, quia memores *to* Heu! (luctus) memores.

CONSOLATRICES EXCIPIENTES EAM CADENTEM DICENTES:[40]

Noli, uirgo Rachel, noli dulcissima mater,
Pro nece paruorum fletus retinere[41] dolorum.
Si que[42] tristaris, exulta[43] que lacrimaris. <p. 218>
Namque tui nati uiuunt super astra beati.

ITEM RACHEL DOLENS:

Heu! Heu! Heu!
Quomodo gaudebo, dum mortua membra uidebo;
Dum sic commota fuero per uiscera tota?
Me facient uere pueri sine fine dolere.
O dolor! O patrum mutataque gaudia matrum
Ad lugubres luctus; lacrimarum fundite fletus,[44]
Iudee florem patrie lacrimando dolorem.

ITEM CONSOLATRICES:

Quid tu, uirgo mater Rachel, ploras[45] formosa,
Cuius uultus[46] Iacob delectat, seu sororis agnicule limpitudo eum iuuat?
Terge, mater, flentes oculos,
Quam te decent[47] genarum riuuli.

ITEM RACHEL:

Heu! Heu! Heu! Quid[48] <p. 219> me incusatis[49] fletus incassum fudisse,
Cum sim orbata nato <qui> paupertatem meam curaret,
Qui non hostibus cederet angustos terminos quos michi Iacob adquisiuit,
Quique stolidis fratribus, quos[50] multos pro<h>[51] dolor, extulit, esset[52] profuturus?

TUNC CONSOLATRICES, ESUPINANTES INFANTES, DICENTES:[53]

Numquid flendus est iste qui regnum possidet celeste,
Quique prece frequenta[54] miseris fratribus apud Deum auxilietur.[55]

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[40] dicentes] dicant (D).
[41] retinere] The letter *n* in this word results from a modification of another letter in the MS, possibly *c*. See the text from Laon, above, p. 16.
[42] Si que] Sique (B).
[43] exulta] ex(s)ulta (D).
[44] fletus] fluctus (W); fluctus *suggested* (D).
[45] ploras] plorans (MS B. W.).
[46] uultus] uultum (MS. W).
[47] decent] (de)decent (D).
[48] Quid] written twice (MS).
[49] incusatis] incusastis (B); *MS corrects* inccusastis *to* incusastis.
[50] quos] quo (MS).
[51] pro<h>] pro (W); proh (C).
[52] esset] esse (C).
[53] dicentes] dicant (B. D. C).
[54] frequenta] frequenta(ta) (D).
[55] auxilietur] auxiliabitur *suggested* (D).

ITEM[56] RACHEL CADENS SUPER PUEROS:[57]

Anxiatus est[58] in me spiritus[59] meus; in me turbatum est cor meum.

TUNC CONSOLATRICES ABDUCANT RACHEL, *et* ANGELUS INTERIM DE SUPERNIS DICAT ANTIPHONAM QUE SEQUITUR:

Sinite paruulos[60] <venire ad me, talium est enim regnum caelorum>.[61]

AD UOCEM ANGELI SURGENTES PUERI INTRENT CHORUM DICENTES:

O Xpiste, quantum patri exercitum iuuenis,[62] doctus ad bella maxima; populis[63] predicans, colligis, umbras suggens cum tantum miseris.

DUM HEC FIUNT,[64] TOLLATUR HERODES *et* SUBSTITUATUR IN LOCO EIUS FILIUS EIUS, ARCHELAUS, *et* EXALTETUR IN REGEM. INTERIM ANGELUS ADMONEAT[65] IOSEPH IN EGIPTUM, QUO PRIUS SECESSIT, DICENS:

Ioseph,[66] Ioseph, Ioseph, fili Dauid! Reuertere <p. 220> in terram Iudam,[67] defuncti sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri.

TUNC IOSEPH REUERTATUR CUM MARIA *et* PUERO, SECEDENS IN PARTE<S>[68] GALILEE DICENS:

Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria uirgo; cunctas hereses, *et cetera.*[69]

CANTOR INCIPIT:[70]

Te Deum laudamus.[71]

SIC FINIT.[72]

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[56] Item] Tunc (C).
[57] pueros] parvulos (B. W. D. C).
[58] est] *omitted* (B. W. D).
[59] spiritus] spes (B).
[60] paruulos] paruulos etc. (B. W).
[61] Antiphon for Lauds of Innocents Day, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 68.
[62] iuuenis] invenis (D. C).
[63] populis] poplis (B); pop[u]lis (W).
[64] fiunt] fiant (D).
[65] admoneat] MS *seems to read* ammoneat; ammoneat (C); commoneat (B. W. D).
[66] Ioseph] *omitted* (W. D).
[67] Iudam] jud(ae)am (D); Judeam (C).
[68] parte<s>] partes (B. W. D); partem (C).
[69] et cetera] *omitted* (D).
[70] incipit] incipiat (D. C).
[71] laudamus] laudamus etc. (B. W).
[72] Sic finit] *omitted* (W. D. C). In the manuscript a version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* follows immediately, introduced by a rubric beginning as follows: *Ad faciendam similitudinem dominici sepulcri.*

The action of the play may be sketched as follows:

As the *Innocentes* advance in procession through the monastery, they sing the antiphon *O quam gloriosum est regnum,* and when the Lamb has taken a place at the head of the procession, the *Innocentes* follow,—presumably into the church,—singing the antiphon *Emitte agnum.* Meanwhile Herod has mounted his throne, and now ceremoniously receives his sceptre from *Armiger,* who sings the antiphon *Super solium David.*

The play proper begins with a scene in which *Angelus* appears above the *præsepe,*[73] commanding Joseph to flee with Mary and Jesus into Eygpt. As the Holy Family depart, Joseph sings the responsory *Aegypte, noli flere.*

The next scene reverts to a situation present at the end of several versions of the *Officium Stellæ.*[74] Herod is informed of the escape of the Magi *(Rex in eternum),* expresses his anger *(Incendium meum),* and under advice *(Discerne, Domine)* orders the slaughter of the Innocents *(Armiger eximie).* Meanwhile the *Innocentes* have appeared singing *Agno sacrato.*

Now occurs the Slaughter of the Innocents. As the slayers *(Occisores)* appear, the Lamb is removed, while the *Innocentes* sing the farewell *Salve, Agnus Dei.* The *Matres* utter an unavailing prayer to the *Occisores* for mercy *(Oremus, teneræ).* Exhorted by *Angelus (Vos qui in pulvere),* the prostrate *Innocentes* utter the familiar *Quare non defendis,* and receive the angelic admonition, *Adhuc sustinete.*

With the entrance of Rachel, accompanied by two *Consolatrices,* begins the *Lamentatio Rachelis.* Over the bodies of the *Innocentes* Rachel delivers a succession of four laments, interrupted by three comforting utterances from her companions.

After the *Consolatrices* have conducted Rachel from the scene, *Angelus* sings the antiphon *Sinite parvulos,* in response to which the *Innocentes* rise and enter the choir, sing-

[73] The position of the *præsepe,* and the location of the action in the church, are indicated below, pp. 37–41.

[74] See above, pp. 6–12.

ing *O Christe*. Meanwhile, in dumb show, Herod is removed from his throne in favor of his son Archelaus.

The final scene presents the command of *Angelus* to Joseph *(Joseph, Joseph)*, and Joseph's response *(Gaude, gaude)* as the Holy Family return from Eygpt to Galilee. The play closes with the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus*.

In the schematic outline, the play takes the following form:

I. Processio Innocentum
  Pueri .....[O] quam gloriosum.
  Pueri .....Emitte agnum.
II. Processio Herodis
  Armiger .....Super solium.
III. Fuga in Ægyptum
  Angelus .....Ioseph! Ioseph!
  Joseph .....Ægypte, noli flere.
IV. Statio apud Herodem
  Armiger .....Rex, in eternum.
  Herodes .....Incendium meum.
  Processio Innocentum .....Agno sacrato.
  Armiger .....Discerne, Domine.
  Herodes .....Armiger eximie.
V. Interfectio Innocentum
  Pueri .....Salve, Agnus Dei!
  Matres .....Oremus, tenerae.
  Angelus .....Vos qui in pulvere.
  Innocentes .....Quare non defendis?
  Angelus .....Adhuc sustinete.
VI. Lamentatio Rachelis
  Rachel .....Heu! Teneri partus.
  Consolatrices .....Noli, virgo Rachel.
  Rachel .....Heu! Heu! Heu!
  Consolatrices .....Quid tu, virgo?
  Rachel .....Heu! Heu! Heu!
  Consolatrices .....Numquid flendus.
  Rachel .....Anxiatus est.
VII. Resurrectio Innocentum
  Angelus .....Sinite parvulos.
  Pueri .....O Christe.
VIII. Reditus in Judæam
  Angelus .....Ioseph! Ioseph!
  Joseph .....Gaude! Gaude!
IX. Te Deum.

One scarcely need remark that this play shows a notable advance over the versions already examined. The procession

of the Lamb, the slaughter of the Innocents, and the lament of Rachel,—all of which are present in Laon,—are in the Fleury version developed to a high degree. In addition to these elements, the Fleury play provides two other important rôles: that of Herod and that of the Holy Family.

Noteworthy is the successful organization of the play,—the completeness with which the main elements, old and new, are presented. The *Innocentes* enter processionally at the outset, pass, after an interval, before Herod, later perish in the *Interfectio,* and eventually appear again in resuscitation. The *Lamentatio* likewise receives a fresh completeness. First the *Matres* themselves present their unavailing prayer during the *Interfectio.* Then Rachel, representing the *Matres,* appears in her long lament, at the close of which she retires under the escort of the *Consolatrices.* Similarly the rôles of Herod and the Holy Family are thoughtfully constructed. Herod enters ceremoniously, and after the *Fuga,* appears in a scene in which he commands the *Interfectio.* Finally his death and the accession of Archelaus appropriately precede the return of the Holy Family.

A consideration of the sources of the play reveals the fact that the first two divisions are based directly upon the liturgy. The three processional utterances of the *Pueri (Emitte agnum* and *O quam gloriosum)* and of Armiger *(Super solium David)* are well-known antiphons.[75] The third division *(Fuga in Ægyptum)* also shows dependence upon the liturgy. The speech of *Angelus (Ioseph! Ioseph!)* is an adaptation of the following passage from the Gospel of the day:

> Surge, et accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et fuge in Ægyptum, et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi. Futurum est enim ut Herodes quærat puerum ad perdendum eum.[76]

[75] See above, pp. 27–28.

[76] Matt. ii: 13. It is not impossible that the speech of Angelus reflects also the influence of such antiphons as the following:

> Tolle puerum et matrem eius et vade in terram Iuda (*Antiphonale Hartkeri,* p. 120).
>
> Joseph, fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam; quod enim in ea natum est, de spiritu sancto est (*Antiphonale Hartkeri,* p. 43).

Joseph's utterance *(Ægypte noli flere)* is a traditional antiphon.[77] The fourth division *(Statio apud Herodem)*,—except for the processional of the *Innocentes (Agno sacrato)*,—essentially reproduces a scene with which certain versions of the *Officium Stellæ* close.[78] The five Leonines sung by the *Innocentes* are, so far as I know, not found elsewhere. The fifth division *(Interfectio Innocentum)* is formed from a variety of sources. The address of the *Innocentes* to the Lamb *(Salve, Agnus Dei)* has a ready source in the Mass, the Canonical Office, or the Vulgate.[79] The hexameter of the *Matres (Oremus, tenerae)* appears to be a new formation. The summons of *Angelus* to the prostrate *Innocentes (Vos qui in pulvere)* appears to reflect the following passage of the Vulgate: *Expergiscimini et laudate, qui habitatis in pulvere.*[80] The appeal of the *Innocentes (Quare non)* and the reply of *Angelus (Adhuc sustinete)* are taken from the familiar responsory *Sub altare.*[81]

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of two parts: one part in Leonine hexameters, and the other in prose. Considering first the Leonines, we observe that, whatever their ultimate origins may be, the first four lines of Rachel's first utterance, *(Heu! teneri . . . ista videre)*, and the last two lines, but one, of her second speech *(O dolor. . . fundite fluctus)*, are found also in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Freising.[82] The last line of Rachel's first speech *(Gaudia non)*, the first speech of the *Consolatrices (Noli virgo . . . astra beati)*, and all the lines in Rachel's second speech, except the two mentioned above, are found in the version from Laon.[83] The significance of these resemblances will be considered below.[84] The prose part of the *Lamentatio* comprises two utterances of the *Consolatrices*

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[77] See above, p. 28.

[78] See above, pp. 5–12. The question of the relation of the *Ordo Rachelis* to the *Officium Stellæ* in their ultimate origins will be considered below, pp. 64–65.

[79] See above, p. 19.

[80] Isaias, xxvi: 19.

[81] See above, pp. 19–20.

[82] See below, p. 44.

[83] See above, pp. 16–17.

[84] See below, pp. 53–63.

and Rachel respectively. The two speeches of the *Consolatrices* and the first speech of Rachel *(Quid tu . . . auxilietur)* constitute collectively the complete text of a well-known sequence,[85]—a sequence that forms also a substantial part of the play from Freising.[86] For her final utterance *(Anxiatus est)* Rachel employs a traditional antiphon from Lauds of Good Friday.[87]

The last two dramatic divisions of the play are composed, once more, of liturgical elements. *Angelus* sings a well-known antiphon *(Sinite parvulos)*[88] and the risen *Pueri* sing a passage *(O Christe quantum)* from an established sequence.[89] The address of *Angelus* to Joseph *(Joseph, Joseph)* may be adapted from a musical element in the liturgy,[90] or from the narrative of the Vulgate.[91] For his final utterance *(Gaude, gaude)* Joseph employs an antiphon.[92]

In summary, then, we may say that the Fleury play is composed essentially of passages from the Vulgate narrative, of traditional musico-liturgical pieces, and of certain literary passages in Leonine hexameters. The order of events is virtually that of the Vulgate narrative, from which none of the substantial events is omitted. The additions

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[85] The text of *Quid tu virgo* in *Analecta Hymnica,* LIII, 379, supersedes that of Kehrein, p. 309.

[86] See below, p. 45.

[87] See *Antiphonale Hartkeri,* p. 220.

[88] See above, p. 31, note 61.

[89] The speech of the *Pueri* is supplied by the ninth sentence of the sequence *Festa Christi,* printed in *Analecta Hymnica,* LIII: 50. This text supersedes that of Kehrein, p. 38.

[90] In addition to the antiphons quoted above (p. 34, note 76), I cite the following liturgical pieces:

Antiphona: Revertere in terram Iudam, mortui sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri (*Antiphonale Hartkeri,* p. 120);

Responsorium: Tolle puerum et matrem ejus, et vade in terram Judam; defuncti sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri. Versus: Venit angelus Domini ad Joseph in somnis, dicens. Defuncti (Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVIII: 746).

[91] Ecce angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Joseph in Ægypto, dicens: Surge et accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et vade in terram Israel; defuncti sunt enim qui quærebant animam pueri (Matt. ii: 19–20).

[92] Gaude, Maria virgo, cunctas hæreses sola intemeristi in universo mundo. (Antiphon for Matins of the Assumption, Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVIII: 799).

made to this narrative by the dramatist are these: the processional entries of the *Pueri* and Herod, the cry of the *Matres*, the presence of the lamb, and the resuscitating of the *Pueri*. Of these added elements the first two may be assumed to be merely natural dramatic extensions made by the author, or authors, of the play. The appropriateness of the lamb in a play of the Innocents has already been explained.[93] The resuscitation of the *Pueri* in the course of the action may be the invention of the dramatist.

Since the element of impersonation has been abundantly illustrated in the sketch of the action given above,[94] we may proceed with a consideration of the *mise en scène* of the play. Through the amplitude of the rubrics in this text,—and in a related text from Fleury,[95]—and through our knowledge of the fabric of the abbey church of Saint Benoit, we are able to trace the "staging" of the action with considerable definiteness.

Our review of the play has shown that the action gathers chiefly about two centers, or *sedes:* the *præsepe* in Bethlehem and the *solium Herodis*[96] in Jerusalem. Now it appears that the *præsepe* can be located definitely in the south aisle of the nave, from evidence furnished by the Fleury version of the *Officium Stellæ*. In this play is found the following rubric: *Tunc demum surgentes* [*Pastores*] *cantent intra se: Transeamus, et cetera; et sic procedant usque ad præsepe,*

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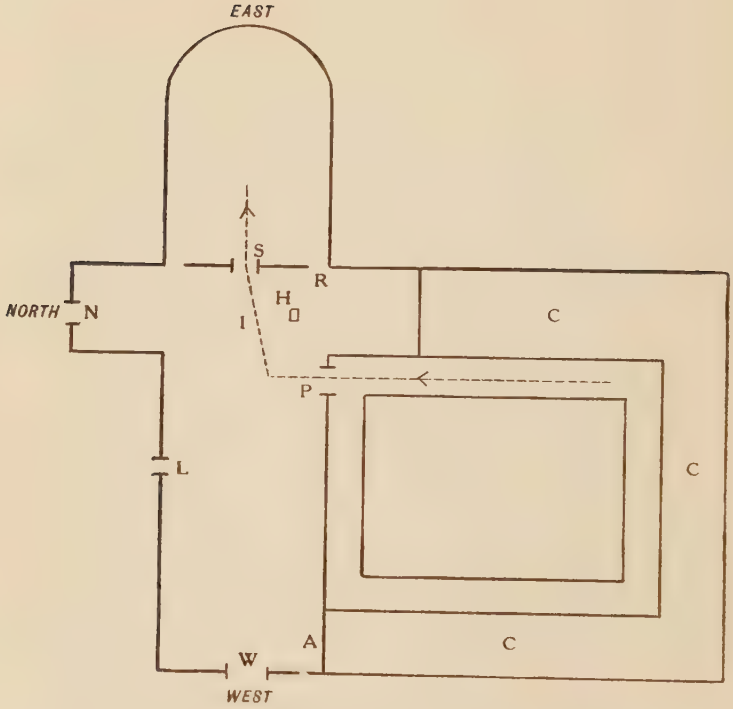
[93] See above, pp. 18–19.

[94] The rubrics establishing the presence of impersonation are so numerous that citation is scarcely required. In connection with Herod, for example, we are told of his sceptre (*Armiger quidam offerat Herodi sedenti sceptrum suum*), his sword (*arrepto gladio . . . tradens ei gladium*), and of his removal from his throne in favor of his son, Archelaus (*substituatur in loco ejus filius ejus Archelaus, et exaltetur in regem*).

[95] As will appear, I refer to the text of the *Officium Stellæ*, immediately preceding the *Ordo Rachelis* in the manuscript.

[96] The word *solium* does not occur among the rubrics in this text, as it does in that from Freising (see below, p. 43), but the existence of Herod's throne is, of course, vouched for in such rubrics as *quidam offerat Herodi sedenti* and *tollatur Herodes et substituatur in loco ejus filius ejus Archelaus et exaltetur in regem.* The word *solium* is, of course, found in the Fleury text in the antiphon *Super solium David*, sung in the ceremonious seating of Herod at the opening of the play.



The Church of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Fleury.)

quod ad ianuas monasterii paratum erit.[97] From this rubric it appears that for the purposes of the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* at least, the *præsepe* was situated beside the door leading from the monastery into the church *(ad ianuas monasterii);* and there is every reason for assuming that a similar arrangement obtained for the closely related *Ordo Rachelis.* The location of this door is not difficult to determine, for the architectural history of the abbey of Saint-Benoit shows that it led from the cloister at the south of the nave directly into the south aisle, as shown in the plan on the opposite page.[98]

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[97] Orléans, MS 201 (*olim* 178), p. 205. See Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques,* p. 157.

[98] The only previous archaeological discussion of this matter in connection with the Fleury plays, so far as I know, is contained in the following note by M. Chasles (*La Vie et les Arts Liturgiques,* No. 28, April, 1917, p. 262, n. 7):

> *"Et sic procedant usque ad praesepe, quod ad januas monasterii paratum erit.* Faut-il comprendre que la crèche était à la porte extérieure du monastère, comme on l'a parfois supposé? Nous ne le croyons pas. Nous pensons que la crèche était à l'intérieur de l'église, placée devant la porte, ouvrant sur le cloître. Cette porte existe toujours, à la troisième travée du bas-côté nord. Voir le plan de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire: Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France,* p. 298."

This interpretation appears to rest solely upon a drawing of the ground-plan of the church of Saint-Benoit (from a period not indicated) printed by R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France a l'Epoque romane,* Paris, 1912, p. 298. This drawing shows a door (marked "L" in my plan) in the north wall of the nave, leading into the third bay of the north aisle. Monsieur Chasles evidently errs in supposing that this door opens upon the cloister. That the cloister was situated at the *south* side of the nave, and that the traditional passage (during the 11th and 12th centuries, and later) from the monastery into the church was through a door in the *south* wall of the nave, is shown by Boucher de Molandon, *Inscriptions tumulaires des xi^e^ et xii^e^ siècles à Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire,* in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais,* XVIII (1884), 530, 534, 549, 559–560. The following passages may be cited from Boucher de Molandon's monograph:

> "Le cimetière abbatial de Fleury-Saint-Benoit était circonscrit par l'enceinte rectangulaire du *cloître,* dont la galerie septentrionale s'appuyait à la basse nef de l'église." (p. 530).
>
> "Le cloître, démoli de fond en comble, n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'une place déserte et désolée. *La porte de communication,* désormais inutile, a été murée à l'intérieur de l'eglise." (p. 549).

This writer speaks of "l'enceinte claustrale destinée aux sépultures monastiques, *au seuil de la basilique*" (p. 549). Furthermore he quotes from a manuscript history of Saint-Benoit, written by Chazal in the 18th century, a passage in which Chazal speaks of a certain epitaph as being found "in claustro coenobii Floriacensis ad pilam quae parieti

Having located the *janua (januæ) monasterii,* not only can we place the *præsepe* definitely (P), but by following the action of the *Innocentes* we can also suggest an approximate location for the *solium Herodis* (H). The *Innocentes* first appear in the monastery itself *(gaudentes per monasterium).*[99] Having entered the nave (P),[100] they are next spoken of as approaching the throne of Herod *(Interea Innocentes adhuc gradientes post Agnum),* near which must occur the *Interfectio* and *Lamentatio* (I). The *Innocentes* are last seen on the occasion of their resuscitation, immediately after which they pass from the *platea* of the action (I) into the choir *(surgentes Pueri intrent chorum).* Since then, the *Innocentes* appear to pass the *solium Herodis* on their progress from the door (P) to the entrance of the choir (S), we may reasonably assign the *sedes* of Herod to the position indicated (H) in the plan above.[101]

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adheret, *juxta januam qua ingressus ex claustro in ecclesiam".* (Boucher de Molandon, p. 559). An admirable drawing showing the ground-plan of the church and cloister is provided by Boucher de Molandon in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais,* XVIII (1884), *Atlas,* Planche 8. Upon this plate my own schematic outline drawing is based,—without attempt at architectural detail or minute accuracy of proportion. It will be noted that the door "P" is the *only* passage-way between the cloister buildings (C) and the church. It will be observed, however, that the church may be entered by at last three other doors: one at west end of the nave (W), one in the north transept (N), and one in the north wall of the nave ("L", referred to by Chasles). The first two (W and N) are, presumably, as old as the church itself. As to the age of the third (L) I have no information. If the word *monasterii* (in the rubric cited by Chasles) be interpreted as referring especially to the monastic *church,* the word *januas* might, of course, be attached to any of the four doors that I have mentioned (W, N, L, or P). In identifying *januas* with the door "P", I have, I think, given the rubric its most reasonable interpretation.

[99] In my outline drawing the cloister buildings are marked "C".

[100] Although this act of entering is not specifically described by the rubrics, it is inevitable from the architectural arrangement. The course followed by the *Innocentes* throughout the play is indicated in my drawing by a broken line.

[101] Additional evidence that the *sedes* of Herod (and hence also the location of Jerusalem) is correctly indicated above appears in the Fleury version of the *Officium Stellæ* (See Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques,* p. 159). The Magi issuing from the door of the choir into the crossing of the transepts address the bystanders (*Venientes ad ostium chori, interrogent adstantes*) as *Jerosolimitani cives,* and become immediately visible to Herod (*Quibus visis, Herodes mittat ad eos Armigerum*).

We have still to place the action of the Holy Family. At the opening of the play Joseph and Mary are, of course, stationed at the *præsepe*. Since their journey to Egypt escapes the observation of Herod *(non vidente Herode)*, we may assume that the Holy Family move toward the west end of the nave, and may assume for Egypt the general position marked A on the plan. Upon their return they are represented as avoiding the region about Jerusalem and as journeying on to Galilee; hence they might appropriately pass from A, past the *præsepe* (P), behind the throne of Herod (H) into the south transept.

Concerning the entrance of Rachel we have no explicit information. Since her rôle is acted at the place marked I, we may reasonably assume that she and the *Consolatrices* enter from the general direction of the south transept or of the south aisle of the choir (R), and that in retiring from the *platea* they retrace their steps.

V.

The outstanding characteristics of the Fleury version are, then, its amplitude, its essentially orderly structure, and the relatively close textual adherence of much of the text to the formulæ of the liturgy. In all these respects a noteworthy contrast appears in the play from the cathedral of Freising, the text of which follows:[1]

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[1] Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 6264, Lectionarium saec. xi–xii, fol. 27ᵛ. The text here re-edited from the manuscript is written in a hand of the twelfth century on an erased page, and is totally disconnected from the *lectiones* on the preceding and following pages. The manuscript provides musical notation in the form of German neums. The text of the *Ordo Rachelis* has been previously edited twice: (1) by E. Du Méril, pp. 171–175 (D); and (2) by K. Weinhold, *Weihnacht-Spiele und Lieder aus Süddeutschland and Schlesien*, Vienna, 1875, pp. 62–65 (W). Weinhold's text is reprinted by R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, n. d., pp. 871–874.

ORDO RACHELIS[2]

ANGELUS:

Ortum pastoris, Pastores, nuncio uobis,
qui redimet[3] proprias, pastor *et* agnus, oues.
Pannis obductus, decus orbis, gloria regum,
in feno situs est qui cibat omne quod est.
In Bethleem[4] uite panem queratis eundem.[5]

ANGELI:

Gloria in excelsis Deo!

PASTORES:

Quis audiuit his similia,
ab eterno mirabilia.
O mirandum puerperium,
tantum habens ministerium!
Transeamus ergo Bethleem
explorare rei seriem.

UENIENTES AD PRESEPE DICANT:

O regem celi, cui celicole famulantur!
Clauditur in stabulo concludens cuncta pugillo,
Despectissimus in terris habitus,[6] *et* summus in astris.

CHORUS DICAT:

Pastores, dicite[7] quidnam uidistis?

RESPONDEANT PASTORES:

Infantem uidimus pannis inuolutum.

ANGELUS AD IOSEPH CANTET:

Ioseph, Ioseph, surge!
Ioseph, in Egyptum cum matre feras cito Xpistum,
Ne cum mactandis pueris rex mactet *et* ipsum.
Admonitus redeas ubi nex, fraus, rexque quiescunt.[8]

IOSEPH SURGENS DE STRATU[9] DICAT AD MARIAM:

Quod[10] prophetica dudum uox insonuit,
angelica tuba nunc admonuit.
Intrat Egyptum lux mundi, Dominus,
leui carnis nube superpositus.
Ydolis Egipti corruentibus,
adest salus expectata gentibus.

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[2] Ordo Rachelis] *omitted* (D).
[3] redimet] redemit (D).
[4] Bethleem] Bethlem (D).
[5] eundem] euntes *suggested* (D). Du Méril reasonably conjectures that after this line the second line of an elegiac distich has been lost from the MS.
[6] habitus] *omitted* (D). The omission restores the hexameter.
[7] dicite] *omitted* (D).
[8] quiescunt] quiescit (D).
[9] stratu] strato (D).
[10] Quod] Eia (W).

ITERUM IOSEPH DICAT AD MARIAM:

Angelus a patria nos precipit ire, Maria;
Rex fugiendus[11] erit puerum qui perdere querit.

MARIA DICAT AD IOSEPH:

Omnia dura pati uitando pericula nati
Mater sum presto; iam uadam; tu comes esto.

IOSEPH PERGENS IN EGIPTUM CANTET:

Egipte, noli fiere, <quia dominator tuus venient tibi, ante cujus conspectum movebuntur abyssi, liberare populum tuum de manu potentis. VERSUS: Ecce dominator Dominus cum virtute veniet. Ante cujus>.[12]

INTERNUNCIUS PROPERANS AD REGEM DICAT:

Felix *et* uiuus sit Rex per secula diuus.

REX INTERNUNCIO RESPONDEAT:

Quid rumoris habes? Est pax an bellica clades?

INTERNUNCIUS RESPONDEAT:

Reges illi quos misisti
explorare cunas Xpisti,
Iusso calle permutato,
redierunt, te frustrato.[13]
Quid facturus sis exquire;
constat eos non redire.

REX INTERNUNCIO RESPONDEAT:

Rex nouus ut pereat, regisque furor requiescat,
Omnimodis ui fraude[14] dolis mecum satagatis.

INTERNUNCIUS DICAT:

In Bethleem[15] natum probat istum pagina uatum.[16]
In qua[17] mactetur mas lactens[18] quisquis habetur,
nullus ut euadat; sic puer ipse cadat.[19]

REX DE SOLIO PROSILIENS CANTET:

Sic, sic quando quidem delusus[20] sencio fraudem,
incendium meum ruina extinguam.

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[11] fugiendus] fugendus (W).
[12] See above, p. 28, note 19.
[13] frustrato] frustato (W).
[14] Omnimodis ui fraude] omnibus modis et fraude et (W).
[15] Bethleem] Bethlem (D).
[16] Du Méril conjectures that after this line the second line of an elegiac distich has been lost from the MS.
[17] In qua] Inque (W).
[18] lactens] lactans (W).
[19] sic puer ipse cadat] *omitted* (W).
[20] delusus] de justis (W).

ARMIGER REGI RESPONDENS CANTET:[21]

Ecce miles ego regius;
ecce uindex regis gladius,
Paratus ad omne facinus
quod iubebit noster Dominus,
Qui placabit iram principis
multa strage turbe simplicis.

REX AD ARMIGERUM:

Etatis bime[22] pueros fac ense perire.[23]

ARMIGER INTERFICIENS PUEROS DICAT:

Disce mori, puer.

ANGELUS E LONGINQUO CANTET:

Xpistuc sospes abiit[24] strages quem tanta requirit:
illius[25] in populum trux furit in uacuum.

CHORUS CANTET:

Hostis Herodes impie,
Xpistum uenire qui[26] times.[27]

RACHEL PLORANS SUPER PUEROS DICAT:

O dolor! O patrum mutataque gaudia matrum
Ad lugubres luctus lacrimarum[28] fundite fluctus!
Ah[29] teneri partus! Laceros quos cernimus artus!
Heu! Dulces nati sola rabie ingulati.
Quid commisistis quod talia facta[30] subistis?
Cur uitam uobis liuor subtraxit Herodis.
Quam nondum uere uos cognouistis habere?
Heu! Quem nec pietas nec uestra coercuit etas!
Ach![31] Matres misere que cogimur ista uidere!
Cur autem natis patimur superesse necatis?
Saltim[32] morte pari nobis licet hos comitari.

---

[21] cantet] *et* cantet (MS). These words are followed by an erasure through which *Miles ego* can still be read. Over *Miles ego* is an erasure through which the text is no longer legible. I do not regard the reading *cantet* as entirely certain.

[22] bime] bine (W).

[23] Rex ad Armigerum: Etatis bime pueros fac ense perire] *omitted* (D).

[24] abiit] abit (D).

[25] illius] ipsius (W).

[26] qui] quid (W).

[27] Concerning the hymn *Hostis Herodes* see below, p. 50.

[28] lacrimarum] lacrumarum (W).

[29] Ah] Ach *with the* c *expunctuated* (MS); Heu *suggested* (W).

[30] facta] fata *with the* c *inserted above the line* (MS); fata (W).

[31] Ach] Ah (D); Heu (W).

[32] Saltim] saltem (W).

CONSOLATRIX ACCEDat:

Quid tu, uirgo mater, ploras, Rachel formosa,
Cuius uultum[33] Iacob electat,[34] ceu[35] sororis annicule[36] lippitudo eum iuuat?

TERGat HIC CONSOLATRIX OCULOS RACHelis:[37]

Terge, terge, mater, fluentes[38] oculos;
Quam[39] te decent genarum rimule.[40]

ITERUM RACHEL dicat:

Heu! Heu! Heu! Quid[41] tu me incusas fletus incassum fudisse,
Cum sim orbata nato, paupertatem meam qui solus curaret,
Qui non hostibus cederet angustos[42] terminos quos michi Iacob acquisiuit?[43]

CONSOLATRIX ACCEDENS dicat:

Numquid[44] flendus est iste, numquid[45] *flendus est iste*,[46] qui regnum possedit[47] celeste,
Quique preces frequentans miseris fratribus apud Deum[48] auxiliatur.

Te Deum laudamus.[49]

From the text before us it appears that the play begins abruptly[50] with a shepherd scene in the form of a version of the *Officium Pastorum*.[51] Stirred by the address of *Angelus (Ortum pastoris)* and by the angelic hymn *(Gloria in excelsis)*, the *Pastores* express their wonderment *(Quis audivit)*,

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[33] uultum] vultus (D).
[34] electat] delectat (D).
[35] ceu] heu (W); seu (D).
[36] annicule] agnicule (W).
[37] Rachelis] Rachel (D).
[38] fluentes] flentes (D).
[39] Quam] qui (W).
[40] rimule] rosulae (D); rivuli (W).
[41] Quid] Quod (D).
[42] angustos] augustos (W).
[43] In the MS *acquisiuit* is followed immediately by an erasure covering two or three words.
[44] Numquid] Haud (D).
[45] numquid] haud (D).
[46] iste] iste sed laudandus (D).
[47] possedit] possidet (D).
[48] Deum] dominum (W).
[49] Te Deum laudamus] *omitted* (D).
[50] This abruptness may arise, in part, from the absence of an introductory rubric.
[51] See above, p. 3, note 1.

and singing *O regem coeli,* proceed to *the præsepe.* Here they are interrogated by the choir *(Pastores, dicite),* and their reply *(Infantem vidimus)* closes the scene.

The flight of the Holy Family begins with a warning from *Angelus (Joseph, Joseph, surge),* as a result of which Joseph rises from the ground, explains to Mary the angelic message, and receives her willing assent *(Omnia dura).* As the Holy Family depart upon their journey to Egypt, Joseph sings the antiphon *Aegypte, noli flere.*

The scene now shifts to the court of Herod, to whom, after a ceremonious entrance *(Felix et vivus...Quid rumoris),* a messenger reports the flight of the Magi and urges that their escape be prevented *(Reges illi).* Ignoring the precise counsel of the messenger, Herod orders the death of the new-born king *(Rex novus),* and the messenger proposes that the slaughter include all the male children in Bethlehem *(In Bethleem),* a proposal that Herod violently adopts *(Sic sic quando).* A soldier now offers to execute the massacre *(Ecce miles),* and promptly receives Herod's final commission *(Etatis bime).*

The actual slaughter is executed chiefly in dumb-show. As he despatches the Innocents the soldier utters merely his brief *Disce mori, puer,* to which the children make no reply. An angel rejoices from afar in the safety of Jesus *(Christus sospes),* and the choir comments by singing at least part of the hymn *Hostis Herodes.*

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of four utterances, two from Rachel and two from *Consolatrix.* Rachel's first speech consists of eleven Leonines, some six of which we have already encountered in the Fleury play;[52] the other three speeches are provided *verbatim* by an established sequence likewise employed in the text from Fleury.[53]

The play closes with the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus.*

The content of the play may be outlined as follows:

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[52] See above, pp. 29–30.

[53] See above, p. 30.

I. Officium Pastorum.
Angelus ..... Ortum pastoris.
Angeli ..... Gloria in excelsis.
Pastores ..... Quis audivit.
O regem coeli.
Chorus ..... Pastores, dicite.
Pastores ..... Infantem vidimus.
II. Fuga in Ægyptum.
Angelus ..... Joseph, Joseph, surge.
Joseph ..... Quod prophetica.
Angelus a patria.
Maria ..... Omnia dura.
Joseph ..... Ægypte, noli fiere.
III. Statio apud Herodem.
Internuntius ..... Felix et vivus.
Rex ..... Quid rumoris?
Internuntius ..... Reges illi.
Rex ..... Rex novus.
Internuntius ..... In Bethlehem.
Rex ..... Sic sic quando.
Armiger ..... Ecce miles.
Rex ..... Ætatis bimæ
IV. Interfectio Innocentum.
Armiger ..... Disce mori.
Angelus ..... Christus sospes.
Chorus ..... Hostis Herodes.
V. Lamentatio Rachelis.
Rachel ..... O dolor.
Consolatrix ..... Quid tu, virgo?
Rachel ..... Heu! Heu! Heu!
Consolatrix ..... Numquid flendus.
VI. Te Deum Laudamus.

Since the literary skill of the Freising dramatist has accomplished a rather thorough-going versifying of the text,[54] the sources of the play are notably transformed and concealed. A search for these sources will do much toward elucidating the transformation.

As has already been observed, the first division of the play is a scene the general content of which is found elsewhere as an independent dramatic piece conveniently entitled

[54] See Meyer, p. 48; Anz, p. 78.

Officium Pastorum.[55] In textual details, however, the scene before us differs considerably from the extant versions of the *Officium Pastorum.* The *Gloria in excelsis* is found in the shepherd-play from Rouen,[56] and the dialogue between the *Chorus* and *Pastores (Pastores dicite. . . . pannis involutum)* has several dramatic associations with the liturgy of Christmas.[57] Part of the first speech of the *Pastores (Quis audivit . . . rei seriem)* appears to be an original metrical treatment of the following passage of the Vulgate:

Pastores loquebantur ad invicem: Transeamus usque Bethlehem, et videamus hoc verbum, quod factum est, quod Dominus ostendit nobis.[58]

The speech delivered by the *Pastores* as they approach the *præsepe (O regem cœli. . . . in astris)* consists of three hexameters based upon the following responsory of Christmas Matins:

O regem cœli cui talia famulantur obsequia! Stabulo ponitur qui continet mundum; jacet in præsepio et in cœlis regnat. Versus: Domine, audivi auditum tuum, et timui. Consideravi opera tua, et expavi; in medio duorum animalium. Jacet.[59]

The opening passage in elegiac distichs *(Ortum pastoris . . . quæratis eundem)* only remotely resembles the following antiphon of Christmas Lauds:

Angelus ad Pastores ait: Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, quia natus est nobis hodie Salvator mundi, alleluia.[60]

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[55] See above, p. 45.

[56] See Young, *Officium Pastorum,* pp. 323, 325, 331.

[57] See *id.,* pp. 348–362.

[58] Luc. ii: 15. See the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum,* XXXII: 414, and from Bilsen, edited by Gustave Cohen and the present writer, in *Romania,* XLIV: 360.

[59] Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVIII: 735. In Migne's text the last word is printed *Jacentem.* For the use of this responsory in the *Officium Stellæ* see the version from Fleury (Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques,* p. 163), and that from Bilsen (*ed. cit.,* p. 368).

[60] Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVIII: 735. See also the *Epiphany* responsory *Pastores præ claritate* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVIII: 742–743), and the *Annuntio vobis gaudium* formula in the *Officium Pastorum* (Young, *Officium Pastorum,* pp. 323, 325).

The second division of the play *(Fuga in Ægyptum)* consists essentially of several original compositions in verse. The warning of *Angelus (Joseph, Joseph, surge)* appears to be adapted from a passage of the Vulgate already considered.[61] For the first two speeches of Joseph *(Quod prophetica ... Angelus a patria ...)* and the reply of Mary *(Omnia ... comes esto)* no source is forthcoming. At the departure for Egypt Joseph sings a well-known responsory *(Ægypte, noli flere)*.[62]

As we should expect, the *Statio apud Herodem* shows numerous verbal resemblances to scenes in several versions of the *Officium Stellæ*.[63] These resemblances, however, are far from thorough-going, for the versifying activity of the Freising dramatist transforms the familiar formulæ.[64]

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[61] See above, p. 34.
[62] See above, p. 28.
[63] See above, pp. 5–12.
[64] One can cite such parallels as the following:

(1) Quid rumoris habes? Est pax an bellica clades?
Freising (*Ordo Rachelis*).

Quid rumoris habes?
(Strassburg *Officium Stellæ*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII: 413; cf. Freising *Officium Stellæ*, in Anz, p. 155).

(2) Reges illi quos misisti
Explorare cunas Xpisti,
Iusso calle permutato,
Redierunt, te frustrato,
Quid facturus sis exquire;
Constat eos non redire.
(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Delusus es, Domini; Magi viam redierunt aliam.
(See above, pp. 6–7).

(3) In Bethleem natum probat istum pagina uatum.
In qua mactetur mas lactens quisquis habetur,
Nullus ut euadat; sic puer ipse cadat.
(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum lineis nasci Xpistum in Bethleem, ciuitate Dauid, propheta sic uaticinante.
(*Officium Stellæ* from Montpellier Ms., in *Modern Philology*, VI, 209).

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam; iube occidi pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.
(*Officium Stellæ* from Montpellier Ms., above, p. 9).

(4) Sic, sic quando quidem delusus sencio fraudem,
incendium meum ruina extinguam.
(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

The literary independence of the author is still further shown in the scene of the *Interfectio Puerorum*. Except for the well-known hymn *Hostis Herodes impie*[65] this brief scene is composed of passages not found elsewhere.

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of one substantial lament in the form of eleven Leonines, followed by a dialogue of three speeches in prose. As we have already observed,[66] some six of the Leonines are found also in the play from Fleury; the three prose speeches are adapted from the liturgical sequence *Quid tu virgo,* which is also used in the Fleury version.[67]

Although, then, a large part of the Freising play shows a relatively high stage of metrical development, in comparison with the Fleury version it reveals distinct defects in dramatic scope, sequence, and motivation.[68] The scene of the *Pastores* with which the Freising version opens, for example, not only is irrelevant to the body of the play in content,[69] but also lacks a transitional connection with the scene of the *Fuga in Ægyptum* that follows. Between the two scenes one inevitably expects at least a reference to the escape of the Magi and to the prospective anger of Herod. The scene of the *Fuga in Ægyptum* itself is somewhat more

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Incendium meum ruina extinguam.
(See above, pp. 6–8).

(5) Ecce miles ego regius;
Ecce uindex regis gladius,
Paratus ad omne facinus
Quod iubebit noster Dominus,
Qui placabit iram principis
Multa stage turbe simplicis.
(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Decerne . . . et puer.
(See above, under 3).

(6) Etatis bime pueros fac ense perire.
(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.
(See above, pp. 8, 10).

[65] Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum,* No. 8073, printed by Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus,* I: 147–148.

[66] See above, p. 46.

[67] The bearing of these resemblances upon the relation between the plays of Freising and Fleury will be considered below, pp. 53–62.

[68] See Meyer, pp. 45–48; Chambers, II: 50; Anz, p. 78.

[69] See Anz, p. 78.

fully developed than the parallel scene in the Fleury play, in that it contains a dialogue between Joseph and Mary. As a whole, however, the rôle of the Holy Family in the Freising play is less extensive, since no provision is made for the return from Egypt to the land of Israel.[70] A similar limitation in scope is seen in the rôle of Herod. Although the scene in which Herod commands the massacre is sufficiently impressive, the subsequent death of Herod is not presented. More noteworthy, perhaps, is a certain defect in the sequence of the action connected with Herod. When he is informed of the escape of the Magi *(Reges illi)* and is advised to overtake them, Herod immediately issues, not the expected order for preventing this escape, but a command for the death of the *Rex novus*. This defect in dramatic sequence,—which is present in the narrative of the Vulgate,—is skilfully repaired in the Fleury play, in which Herod before ordering the slaughter is not only informed of the escape of the Magi, but is also explicitly advised to adopt means for insuring the death of the new-born King.[71] The rôle of the Innocents themselves in the play before us is particularly paltry. Whereas in the Fleury play they enter processionally at the outset, appear during Herod's colloquy with *Armiger*, suffer martyrdom, and subsequently rise again, in the Freising version they appear only in the brief scene of the *Interfectio;* and even in this scene they have no speaking part.[72] Finally one observes that the *Lamentatio Rachelis* with which the play before us somewhat abruptly ends is less extensive than is the same part of the play from Fleury.[73]

Although the rubrics of the Freising text are scanty, the evidences of *mise en scène* and impersonation are clear enough to indicate the presence of true drama. The acting-space[74]

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[70] See Meyer, p. 46.

[71] See above, p. 29.

[72] See Meyer, p. 46.

[73] The textual similarities of the Freising and Fleury plays will be considered below, pp. 53–62.

[74] No data are available for determining the precise part of the church in which the action occurs.

is equipped with at least some sort of structural *præsepe*[75] and a *solium Herodis*.[76] Impersonation is perhaps most readily discerned in the action prescribed for Joseph *(Joseph surgens de stratu)*, Herod *(Rex de solio prosiliens)*, Armiger *(Armiger interficiens pueros)*, and Rachel *(Rachel plorans super pueros)*.

The place in the liturgy occupied by the play cannot be determined with certainty. The presence of the *Te Deum* at the end of the text implies a performance at Matins, presumably on Epiphany or on Innocents Day.

VI

In the review given above of the several dramatic treatments of the themes of Innocents Day only passing notice has been taken of the textual resemblances among the several versions. We may now consider somewhat closely both these textual relations and the allied matters of ultimate provenience and course of development. These aspects of the subject have already been incisively studied by Meyer[1] and Anz,[2] whose observations I now undertake to review.

Let us consider first the views of Meyer.

1. This writer infers that the original form (x) of the *Ordo Rachelis*,—upon which the Freising version, for example, rests,— arose in Germany. This inference is drawn from the fact that in the version from Freising, the dialogue between Rachel and Consolatrix is substantially an adaptation of a sequence *(Quid tu virgo)* ascribed to Notker.[3] The

[75] [Pastores] venientes ad Præsepe (See above, p. 42).

[76] Rex de solio prosiliens (See above, p. 43).

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 44–48.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 73–78.

[3] Edited from exhaustive sources by C. Blume and H. M. Bannister in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, LIII: 379–381. It should be remarked that Blume and Bannister appear to be less certain of Notker's authorship than Meyer is.

inference itself is that only a German author would have thought of adapting this sequence to dramatic use.[4]

Although this reasoning can scarcely be accepted as final proof that the dramatic adaptation of the sequence *Quid tu virgo* was the work of a German author, certainly the absence of this sequence from French manuscripts[5] indicates that the Freising play rests, at least in part, upon a liturgical piece of German provenience.

2. Meyer holds that a version similar to the Freising play is the basis, or at least the inspiration, of the Laon version.[6] This opinion rests upon the following two textual resemblances:

(1) Freising (Notker): Quid tu, *virgo mater*, ploras, Rachel formosa?
Laon: Noli, *virgo* Rachel, noli, dulcissima *mater*.

(2) Freising (Notker): *Terge*, mater, *fluentes oculos*.
Laon: Ast *oculos* flentes, lacrimas quoque *terge fluentes*.

Meyer believes, however, that the actual composition of the Laon version was accomplished in France, for this play contains three passages from sequences current in France, but unknown,—or substantially so,—in Germany.[7]

3. Meyer looks upon the Fleury version as being an obvious compilation.[8] From the Freising version (or its

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[4] "Sollte wohl ein Franzose des 12. Jahrhunderts noch auf diesen Gedanken gekommen sein, eine Sequenz Notker's so zu verwenden? Das ist sehr unwahrscheinlich." (Meyer, p. 45).

[5] See *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 380–381.

[6] See Meyer, pp. 45–46, 48.

[7] Meyer, p. 45. The three passages are the following: (1) the first speech of Rachel (*O dulces . . . lactis flumina*), found as verses 20 and 21 of the sequence *Celsa pueri* (*Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 264–7); (2) the last speech of *Consolatrix* (*Quam beata . . . talia pignora*), found as verses 18 and 19 of the same sequence *Celsa pueri;* (3) the greater part of the last speech of Rachel (*Planctus matrum . . . pre tristitia*), found as verses 5 and 6 (Meyer says 6 and 7) of the sequence *Misit Herodes* (*Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 70). The bibliography given by the editors of *Analecta Hymnica* indicates that *Celsa pueri* is not found in German manuscripts at all, and *Misit Herodes*, not before the fourteenth century.

[8] See Meyer, p. 46.

original),[9] as he holds, are derived at least the first four Leonines of Rachel's first lament *(Heu! teneri partus . . . ista videre)*, and the fourth and fifth Leonines of Rachel's second utterance *(O dolor . . . . fundite fluctus)*. A German source seems to Meyer to be indicated also in the fact that the second and third speeches of the *Consolatrices* and the third speech of Rachel *(Quid tu virgo . . . apud Deum auxilietur)* are literally supplied by the Notkerian sequence *Quid tu virgo*, found also in the play from Freising. Further evidence of German influence upon the Fleury play is seen in the speech of the risen *Pueri (O Christe, quantum . . . miseris)*, which consists in a passage from another Notkerian sequence *(Festa Christi)*.[10] From the presence of Notkerian elements in it, Meyer infers that the original of the Fleury version was composed where the Notkerian sequences were indigenous.[11] From the Laon play Meyer would derive the last line of Rachel's first lament *(Gaudia non . . . . pignora desunt)*, the four lines of the first speech of the *Consolatrices (Noli, virgo . . . astra beati)*, and four lines,—the first three and the last,— of Rachel's second speech *(Quomodo gaudebo . . . . fine dolere* and *Judee florem . . . . dolorem)*.[12]

4. From the fact that the Limoges text consists merely in a dialogue of lament and consolation appended to the responsory *Sub altare*, and that likewise in the plays from Fleury and Laon a dialogue of lament and consolation is appended to the same responsory, Meyer infers that the dia-

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[9] It is scarcely necessary to remark that, in general, the dates of the extant manuscripts have small bearing upon the question of the interrelations of the versions. An early version may be preserved only in a late manuscript.

[10] See Meyer, pp. 46–47. The sequence *Festa Christi* is found in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 50–53. Meyer notes that the passage from this sequence used in the Fleury play is defectively quoted, and attributes this error to a natural unfamiliarity of the French author with the Notkerian piece.

[11] Meyer, p. 47.

[12] Meyer (p. 46) does not explicitly prove that the Fleury play is the borrower rather than the source. The relative brevity and simplicity of the Laon play might be cited in support of Meyer's view that this play is the source.

logue between Rachel and *Consolatrix* (or *Consolatrices)* is the kernel of the plays that we call collectively *Ordo Rachelis.*[13]

5. From the central element just described were developed, as Meyer believes, the three extant versions: (1) the Freising-Fleury play, (2) the Laon play, and (3) the Limoges dialogue. The development is assumed to have occurred as follows:[14]

a) There arose in southern Germany a non-extant play for Innocents Day, of the following content: a procession of the *Pueri* and Herod, a warning to Joseph (as in Fleury), a scene representing Herod's anger and his commanding of the Slaughter, a scene representing the Slaughter itself (as in Fleury), Rachel's lament in Leonines (as in Freising and Fleury), the utterance of *Consolatrix* (Notker's *Quid tu virgo,* as in Freising and Fleury), the rising of the *Pueri* and their processional (from Notker's *Festa Christi),* and the return of the Holy Family (as in Fleury).

b) In the course of the twelfth century a poet in southern Germany revised this non-extant version, the result of his thorough-going versifying and modifying being the extant play from Freising.

c) The German play,—presumably the original non-extant version,[15]—was brought to France, with the following results:

(1) At Limoges was composed a brief dialogue in imitiation of the dialogue of Rachel and *Consolatrix* in the German play.

(2) At Laon an *Ordo Rachelis* was added to a version of the *Officium Stellæ.* In the composing of this *Ordo Rachelis,* part of the non-extant German play was used, part was rejected, and part was replaced by new Leonines and passages from sequences native to France.

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[13] See Meyer, p. 47.

[14] See Meyer, pp. 47–48.

[15] Upon this point Meyer (p. 48) is not explicit.

(3) At Fleury, finally, the original German play was, in general, imitated. Into the dialogue of Rachel and *Consolatrices,* however, the author inserted some nine Leonines from the Laon play.[16]

In criticism of Meyer's scheme of relationship I offer the following observations:

1. The dependence of Limoges[17] upon the original version *(x)* of South Germany (even through the process of imitation) is not proved. Meyer admits that Limoges presents the irreducible kernel of the *Ordo Rachelis* play.[18] In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, Limoges may fairly be viewed as a simple and independent piece conceived in France and composed either under the inspiration of the Gospel narrative,[19] or through adaptation of some liturgical composition that is no longer known.

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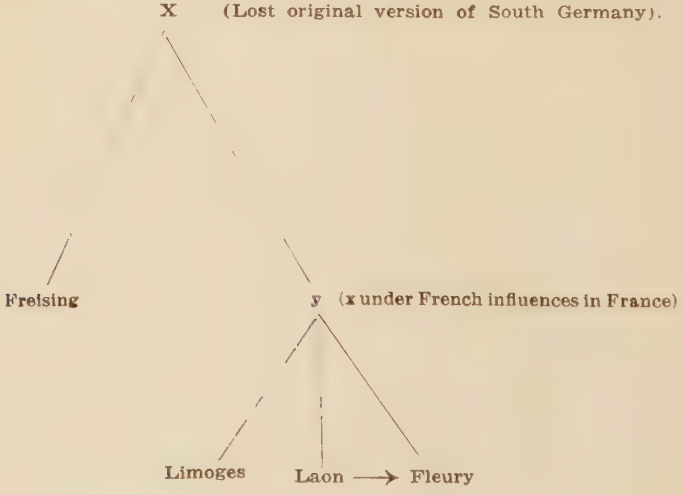
[16] For convenience one may, very roughly, diagram Meyer's observations as follows:



It should be remembered that Meyer does not commit himself to a definite diagram.

[17] Henceforth I take the liberty of designating the versions merely by the names of the places from which they come.

[18] See Meyer, p. 47.

[19] Matt. ii: 18.

2. The evidence supporting the contention that Laon derives from a version similar to Freising lacks decisiveness. Since it is admitted that Laon shows considerable influence from native French sequences,[20] one can admit German influence only on the showing of substantial evidence. The only proof offered is in the form of two verbal resemblances between Freising and Laon.[21] Not only are these resemblances fragile in themselves; they are also offset by resemblances between Laon and Limoges pointing toward the influence of the latter version upon the former.[22]

The further bearing of these considerations will be considered below.

More elaborate than the study of Meyer is the investigation of textual relationships made by Anz,[23] whose results I now examine.

1. This writer views Limoges as an early and independent production.[24]

2. Anz holds further that Limoges, or a related version, is the source of a substantial part of the Rachel scene in Laon. As a first step in demonstrating this relation Anz undertakes to expose the lack of unity and sequence in the Laon text as it stands. Both the speeches of Rachel and those of *Consolatrix* show a variety of meters.[25] Moreover a mechanical juxtaposition of diverse sources is apparent in Rachel's last utterance *(Planctus matrum et Rachelis)*, in the fact that she refers to herself in the third person.[26]

Again, according to Anz, the secondary nature of Laon is suggested by the defective sense of two particular passages. The first of these is the first speech of *Consolatrix:*

> Noli, virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater,
> Pro nece parvorum fletus reticere dolorum.

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[20] See Meyer p. 45, and above p. 53.

[21] See Meyer pp. 45–46, and above p. 53.

[22] See below, pp. 57–60, 63.

[23] Anz, pp. 73–78. In his treatment of the Innocents plays Anz, —probably through inadvertence,—makes no reference to the previous work of Meyer, with which he was certainly acquainted. See Anz, p. 6.

[24] Anz, pp. 72–73.

[25] See Anz, pp. 73, 77, and above, pp. 16–17.

[26] See Anz, p. 74.

This passage expresses an injunction precisely opposite in sense to what we should expect. Whereas we should expect that Rachel would be urged to cease her lamenting, she is actually urged not to restrain her tears. Her reply *(Gaudia non possum)*, moreover, would imply that she has already been bidden to cease lamenting and to rejoice.[27] This reply is the second passage adduced as presenting defective sense:

> **Gaudia non possum, nam dulcia pignora non sunt,**
> **Judee florem, patrie lacrimando decorem.**[28]

The first of these lines is thought to be "sinnlos," on the ground that *possum* lacks an infinitive that must have been present in the original.[29] Anz observes further that the rime of the Leonine is defective,[30] and holds that the sense of the second line does not readily attach itself to that of the first.[31] A further consideration advanced as indicating the defective textual mosaic of Laon is the very position of the utterance *Gaudia non possum* in the sequence of thought in the play. For the sorrowing Rachel to think of *gaudia* would be impossible, it is said, unless *Consolatrix* had previously

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[27] See Anz, p. 74. Anz observes that the parallel speech of *Consolatrix (Angelus)* in the Limoges text runs as follows: *Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora . . . Noli flere, sed gaude potius!*

[28] For *decorem* Anz (p. 74) prints *dolorem*, under the influence, obviously, of the reading in Fleury. These two lines are not continuous in Fleury, where they stand as follows: *Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora desunt . . . Iudee florem, patrie lacrimando dolorem.* See above, pp. 29–30.

[29] See Anz, p. 74. I am by no means convinced that, as mediæval Latin, *Gaudia non possum* is "sinnlos" as it stands, even in the absence of an infinitive with *possum*. Might not one translate, "I cannot be joyful"? I have no parallels at hand, but I feel sure of having encountered them in mediaeval Latin.

[30] See Anz, p. 74. One scarcely need remark that *possum* may be a scribal error for *possunt*, a form that restores the rime, and a form found in the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis* (See above, p. 29).

[31] See Anz, p. 75. The difficulty of interpreting the lines as they stand (or with *possum* emended to *possunt*) seems not to be insurmountable. I should suggest the following: "I cannot be joyful (*or* Joy is impossible) because of my weeping over the glory of the land, the flower of Judea,—for my sweet children are no more."

referred to it. No such reference is present in the extant version of Laon.[32]

The cause of this last difficulty in sense, as well as of certain of the textual difficulties mentioned, seems to Anz to lie in the changes to which the author of Laon subjected his sources. Assuming that in the source of Laon the order of ideas was different from the order in the text before us, Anz confidently reconstructs the Leonine passage[33] in Laon in the following form:[34]

Noli, virgo Rachel, noli dulcissima mater,
Pro nece parvorum fletus (lacrimare?)[35] dolorum!
Supplico, ne plores quae tanto sanguine flores
Ast oculos flentes, lacrimas quoque terge fluentes.
Tu, quae tristaris, exulta, quae lacrimaris,
Namque tui nati vivunt super astra beati!
(Ergo gaude)[36]

Rachel:

Quomodo gaudebo dum mortua membra videbo,
Dum sic commota fuero per viscera tota,
Iudaeae florem, patriae lacrimando decorem?
Heu! (luctus) memores nostrosque levare dolores[37]
Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora non sunt!
Me facient vere pueri sine fine dolere!

When he proceeds to examine the two speeches of his hypothetical reconstruction, Anz observes that the first speech is merely a revamping of the speech of *Angelus* in Limoges.[38] The words *Noli, virgo Rachel* of Laon reflect the words *Noli, Rachel, deflere* of Limoges. The later *Noli*

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[32] See Anz, p. 76. This bit of objecting seems to me rather captious. Surely the point raised is, in any case, one of taste,—or of individual psychology.

[33] The Leonine passage consists of the first three speeches of *Consolatrix* and the second and third speeches of Rachel,—a continuous passage running *Noli, virgo Rachel . . . quoque terge fluentes.* See above, pp. 16–17.

[34] See Anz, p. 76.

[35] Anz's proposal, p. 76.

[36] Anz's proposal, p. 76.

[37] It will be observed that this line is not found in the extant Laon text. As printed here it is an emended line from Fleury, which Anz assumes to have been present in the source of Laon. See below, p. 61.

[38] See Anz, pp. 76–77.

flere of Limoges is represented in *Supplico ne plores* of the reconstruction. The words *Cur*[39] *tristaris* of Limoges are the basis of the passage *Tu quae tristaris* in Laon. The Limoges passage *sed gaude potius, Tui nati vivunt felicius* results, in Laon, in the form *exulta, quae lacrimaris, Namque tui nati vivunt super astra beati.* The opening words of Rachel's reply in Laon *(Quomodo gaudebo)* suggest that the preceding speech of *Consolatrix* ended with the *Ergo gaude* now preserved in Limoges.

In the reconstruction, moreover, it appears to Anz that the troublesome line *Gaudia non possum* finds an explanation.[40] The restoration of the form *possunt* restores the rime of the Leonine, and this verb is supplied with an appropriate infinitive in the line preceding. We are shown, finally, that the word *exulta* of *Consolatrix* lends appropriateness to Rachel's mention of *gaudia.*

For the motive of the author of the extant Laon play in disturbing the lines of his original and in rearranging them in five speeches, Anz offers a simple explanation: a desire for a more lively dialogue.[41]

But according to the critic under review, the influence of Limoges upon Laon is not confined to the passage of five speeches that we have been considering. Further influence is discerned also upon the opening lament of Rachel *(O dulces innocentum . . . lactis flumina).* Anz feels that the opening words of this lament, *O dulces innocentum*, resemble the passage *O dulces filii* of Limoges so closely as to suggest an original similarity between the lament in Laon and the speech of Rachel in Limoges.[42]

3. A third important contention of Anz is that Laon, or

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[39] The fact that the manuscript may read *Cor* (see above, p. 25) need not seriously affect Anz's argument. The same may be said in connection with *Tui*, quoted in the next sentence; my reading of the manuscript is *Cui*. See above, p. 25.

[40] See Anz, pp. 74–77.

[41] See Anz, p. 77.

[42] See Anz, p. 77. Anz appears to overlook the fact that the opening lament in Laon,—along with other passages in that play,—is found in the French sequence *Celsa pueri*, as Meyer has shown. See above, p. 53, note 7.

the source of Laon, is one of the sources of Fleury. The evidences adduced in support of this contention are the following:

a) The four lines of the first speech of the *Consolatrices* in Fleury *(Noli, virgo . . . astra beati)* form also the first two speeches of *Consolatrix* in Laon; and Anz assumes that Fleury is the borrower.[43]

b) Of Rachel's second utterance in Fleury *(Quomodo gaudebo . . . dolorem)* Anz derives the first three lines and the last line directly from the second and third speeches of Rachel in Laon.[44]

c) Likewise Anz would derive from the original of Laon the following two lines of Rachel's opening lament in Fleury:

Heu! Quid memores nostrosque levare dolores
Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora desunt

The second line is, of course, found in the extant Laon play;[45] and since the first line is assumed to be necessary to the sense of the second, Anz infers that in the original of Laon the two lines were found together.[46] But as it stands in Fleury, the first line is metrically defective;[47] hence Anz emends and presents the following as the form of the two lines in the original of Laon, which served as the source of Fleury:

Heu! (luctus) memores nostrosque levare dolores
Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora non sunt.

4. Anz contends that Fleury is indebted also, in a measure, to Freising, or to the source of Freising. The first four lines of Rachel's first utterance in Fleury *(Heu! teneri . . .*

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[43] See Anz, p. 75. The textual variations between the two plays in these lines have no bearing upon the present argument.

[44] See Anz, p. 75.

[45] In the present argument the textual variations between the two texts may be ignored.

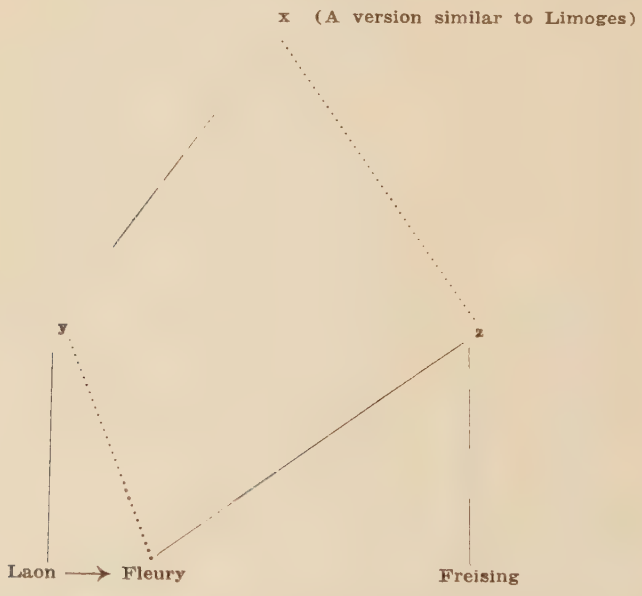
[46] See Anz, pp. 75–76.

[47] The metrical defect Anz (p. 76) believes to have arisen through contamination from the line preceding in Fleury, beginning *Heu! quid*. Hence *quid* is removed in favor of the dissyllabic *luctus*.

ista videre) are substantially identical with two separated pairs of lines in Rachel's opening lament in Freising. That Fleury is the borrower seems to Anz to be indicated by the fact that the antecedent which is lacking to *quem* in the line *Heu! quem nec pietas nec vestra coercuit ætas* as it stands in Fleury is supplied by the preceding line in the Freising text.[48] Further borrowings from Freising, or from its source, are assumed in the following passages of Fleury: two lines of Rachel's second utterance *(O dolor ... fundite fluctus)*, the second and third speeches of the *Consolatrices (Quid tu ... genarum rivuli* and *Numquid flendus ... Deum auxilietur)*, and the third speech of Rachel *(Heu, heu, heu, quid ... esset profuturus)*.[49]

[48] See Anz, p. 75.

[49] See Anz, p. 75. The general intent of Anz's observations outlined above may be roughly diagramed as follows:



It should be understood that Anz presents no such diagram, and that my drawing represents his argument only in a very general way. I resort to such a figure only for lucidity. Dotted lines represent relations that Anz proposes only tentatively, or not at all. The relation of Freising to the original simple form (x) of the play is not considered by Anz.

Several of the details in Anz's arguments I have already criticised in the course of my analysis of them.[50] I now offer certain additional observations, bearing in mind both the contentions of Anz and those of Meyer.

1. As has been suggested above,[51] Anz's opinion that Limoges is an early and independent production is more easily accepted than is Meyer's contention that this piece is an imitation of part of a longer version developed in Germany. The process for which Meyer contends is, to be sure, entirely rational; but in the absence of proof for it, one may more readily believe that Limoges was inspired by the appropriate passage in the Vulgate and by sequences native to France.

2. One readily accepts Anz's conclusion that in some manner Laon continues the tradition of Limoges. Although very few, probably, will credit either Anz's highly conjectural reconstruction of the immediate source of Laon or his evidences of direct textual influence from Limoges, certainly we more readily accept Anz's contention for the derivation of Laon from the *tradition* of Limoges than Meyer's for a derivation from Freising.

3. However sceptical we may be, finally, as to Anz's arguments for detailed influences upon Fleury, we may safely recognize in this play the influence of two traditions: one represented by Laon and one represented by Freising.

In summary, then, it appears that whatever the relations of their ultimate origins may have been, we are sure of a French tradition that includes Limoges and Laon and of a German tradition that includes Freising; and in some manner the two traditions seem to be united in Fleury.

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[50] See especially the foot-notes on pp. 58, 60.

[51] See p. 56.

VII

From a consideration of the broad relations of the extant versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* we pass, finally, to a special question relating to origins: Did this type of play arise as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellæ,* or was it a separate creation, independent in origin and development? Or more specifically: Is the Innocents scene with which the Laon *Officium Stellæ* closes to be regarded as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellæ,* or as a dramatic unit developed independently and then appended, more or less mechanically,[1] to a normal Epiphany play of the Magi?[2]

Evidence pointing toward an independent origin of the *Ordo Rachelis* appears in the fact that the kernel of the play,—the lament of Rachel,[3]—is to be found in the version of Limoges in an early manuscript as a simple, independent dramatic unit, attached to the responsory *Sub altare.* In two texts, moreover,—those of Laon and Fleury,—the attachment of the lament to the responsory *Sub altare* persists. Still further, the Innocents scene of Laon contains almost nothing beside the lament and the responsory. These facts suggest that the origin of the play is some such independent trope of the responsory *Sub altare* as that preserved in the Limoges text.

On the other hand, we have several indications that the formation of the actual play occurred under the influence of the *Officium Stellæ.* Such an influence was indeed inevitable, for numerous versions of this latter play end with an explicit promise of an Innocents scene, and in the Vulgate narrative the anger of Herod over the escape of the Magi directly motivates the massacre. This promise and this motivation are explicitly fulfilled in the *Officium Stellæ* of Laon. In this case the Innocents scene is unquestionably a part of

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[1] The mechanical nature of the attachment is commented upon by Meyer (p. 48) and Anz (p. 78). See above, p. 17.

[2] These questions have been broached above, p. 23.

[3] I am using "lament" here as including the entire utterance of Rachel and of her comforter (or comforters).

the Magi play, and a fitting conclusion for it. The Innocents plays of Fleury and Freising, moreover, show definite textual influence from the Magi plays; for, as we have observed above, these two versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* contain formulæ and whole speeches that are obviously borrowed from the *Officium Stellæ*.[4]

A possible explanation of these facts might be formulated as follows:

Under the general influences that inspired the great body of liturgical poetry, arose a trope (or tropes) of the responsory *Sub altare,* represented by the extant text fom Limoges.[5] Certain dramatists, wishing to carry out the implications of Herod's threats at the end of certain versions of the *Officium Stellæ,* used such a trope as a substantial part of a text for an Innocents scene. The *Ordo Rachelis* thus created sometimes served as the conclusion of an *Officium Stellæ,* as at Laon; sometimes, as at Fleury and Freising, it formed a separate and independent play.[6] The relative simplicity of the *Ordo Rachelis* of Laon suggests the probability that the use of the trope in a conclusion of the *Officium Stellæ* preceded its use in an independent play.

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[4] See above, pp. 35, 49. The Freising *Ordo Rachelis* contains a fair number of passages that reflect expressions found not only in the versions of the *Officium Stellæ* in general, but, more particularly, in the *Officium Stellæ* from Freising itself. The absence of a similar relation between the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis* and the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* results from the fact that the relevant passages in the *Officium Stellæ* have been definitely transferred from the Magi play to the Innocents play. See above, pp. 5, 28, 32.

[5] The ultimate basis of the trope (or tropes) was probably a passage from the Vulgate, such as Matt. ii: 18 or Jer. xxxi: 15.

[6] Chambers, *Mediæval Stage,* II: 50, suggests that the Freising *Ordo Rachelis* is really not designed as an independent play, but is intended as a supplement to the Freising *Officium Stellæ.*

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